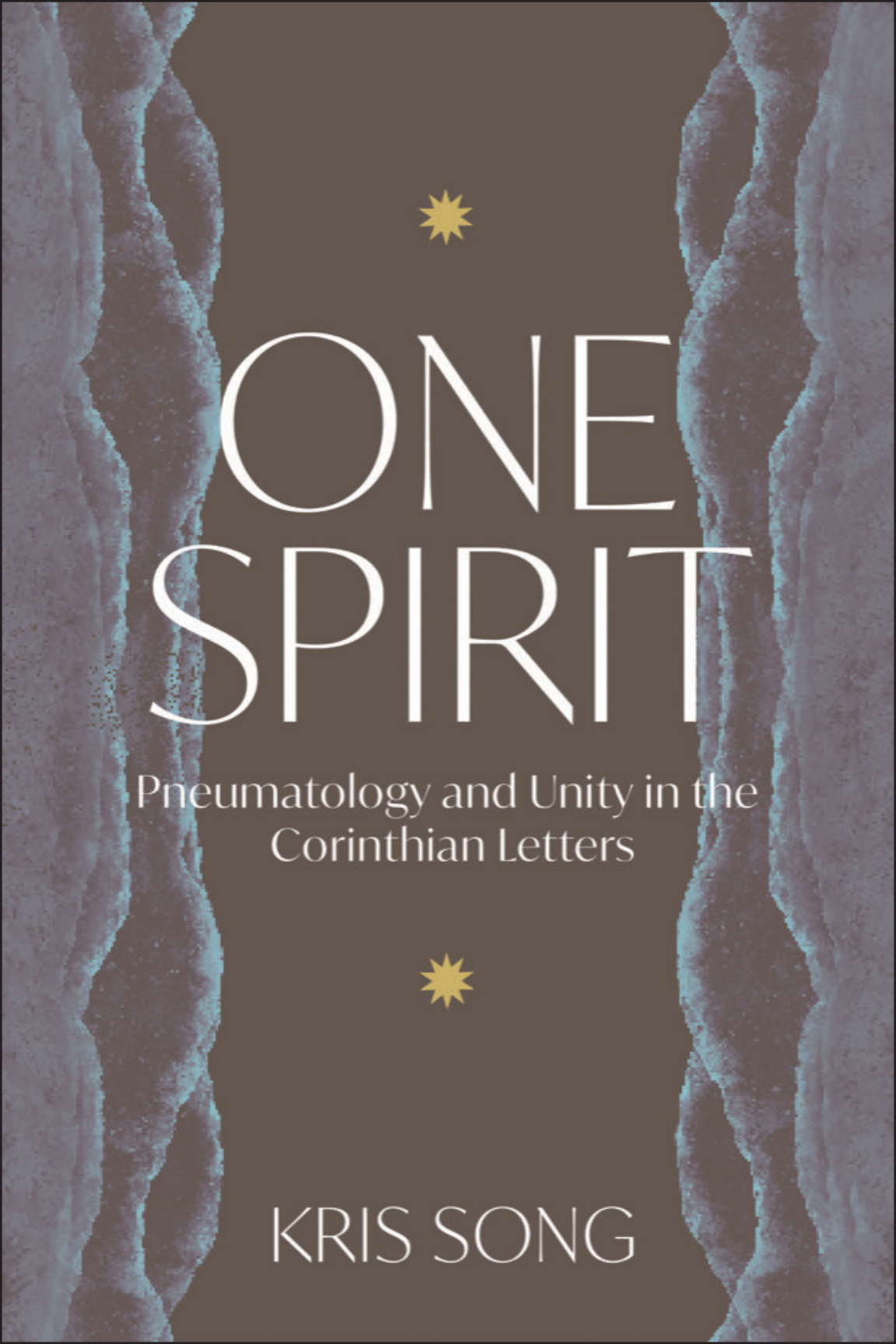
ONE SPIRIT
Pneumatology and Unity in the Corinthian Letters
KRIS SONG

"This superb book is a sophisticated, impressively wide ranging, and original contribution to New Testament studies, and Pauline studies in particular. This is no minor accomplishment in such a congested domain of research. But this book is more. Besides exhibiting extraordinary command of the total scope of relevant ancient data, it also provides imaginative analytic resources for theologians working in more systematic modes. In disciplines so often bifurcated, this book is a model of intellectual creativity—and an enticement for theologians to engage New Testament scholarship (and the ancient world more broadly) with much greater seriousness."

—T. J. Lang, Senior Lecturer in New Testament, University of St Andrews

"This is an altogether convincing case for understanding how the Holy Spirit is the means by which God joins his new covenant people to Christ. In developing his case, Song contends that God does not form a 'third race' but enlarges his covenant assembly to include Gentiles by expanding the biblical notion of sacred space, especially seen in Paul's imagery of the temple. Jews remain Jews both ethnically and culturally and Gentiles remain Gentiles, but God unites them by the 'one Spirit.' In this carefully argued and well-written monograph, Song reveals some of the inadequacies of how certain schools of thought on Paul (viz. the New Perspective, Paul within Judaism, and Apocalyptic) have interpreted the role of the Spirit. This book thus provides some carefully nuanced correctives to Pauline scholarship."

—Clinton E. Arnold, Research Professor of New Testament, Talbot School of Theology, Biola University

"In *One Spirit*, Kris Song demonstrates how indispensable the unifying power of the Spirit is to Paul's gospel. He deftly works through various schools of Pauline interpretation to elucidate how the Spirit enables both Jews and gentiles to live together in the new messianic age. This is a must-read for anyone thinking about the role of the Spirit in Paul's writings."

—Matthew Thiessen, Associate Professor of Religious Studies, McMaster University, and author of *Paul and the Gentile Problem* and *A Jewish Paul*

"*One Spirit* is an attempt to bring together Paul's spatial understanding of the Spirit in terms of the temple as 'cultic space around the person of Christ' where both Jews and Gentiles are brought together in unified worship of the one Lord. The scope of the work is ambitious and wide-ranging while at the same time well-ordered and judicious. The scholarly assessment of Paul's view of the Spirit has been both fractured and fractious, two shortcomings Song's work manages to avoid. This is a well-conceived work that is a pleasure to read. Song orders the conversation well and makes a contribution that will need to be considered."

—Darian Lockett, Professor of New Testament, Talbot School of Theology, Biola University

"This innovative book offers a compelling examination of Paul's pneumatology and its function in constructing unity among Christ-followers in Corinth. Drawing creatively on critical spatial theory, the study insightfully analyzes how the Spirit brings cohesion, both relationally and spatially, without requiring the dissolution of Jewish and Gentile identities. This is a groundbreaking contribution that provides sage perspective on unity, diversity, and supersessionism in early Pauline thought."

—J. Brian Tucker, Dean of Faculty and Professor of New Testament, Moody Theological Seminary

"'For in one Spirit we were all baptized into one body,' Paul says to the church at Corinth. But how does he understand the Spirit establishing unity amid the diversity composed of Jew and Gentile? In *One Spirit*, Kris Song suggests that this unity occurs within a 'cultic space around the person of Christ' which allows Jew and Gentile to flourish together—as Jew and Gentile. Drawing on insights from spatial theory, Song's articulation of the *pneuma* discourse is both an incisive contribution to Pauline pneumatology as well as a refreshing picture of unity that our world—and the church—so desperately needs."

—Jeannine Hanger, Assistant Professor of Biblical and Theological Studies, Talbot School of Theology, Biola University

"Eschewing articulations of Paul's thought that imagine Jew and Gentile unity in Christ as constituted by an ethnic or genealogical manipulation of the Spirit, Kris Song contends that Paul understands this unity in spatial and relational terms, since the Spirit mediates the presence of God. Instead of creating a 'third race,' the Spirit configures a 'Thirdspace' for Jews and Gentiles to retain their differences as they are centered cultically on Christ in the worship of the same God. *One Spirit* provides helpful correctives to the pneumatologies of the major interpretative trends in Pauline scholarship, and it highlights what 1 Corinthians in particular can offer in response to several of the questions that contemporary Pauline scholars more readily turn to Galatians and Romans to address."

—John Anthony Dunne, Associate Professor of New Testament, Bethel Seminary

"Judicious, cutting-edge, learned, up to date, exegetically alert, and lucid. These are words that come to mind as I seek to describe Kris Song's *One Spirit*. Perhaps most significantly, he reminds us that Paul's *pneuma* language is inflected profoundly by Christology and by 'being in Christ.' This means that he can critically appraise purported parallels with Stoic language, thereby offering an appropriate critique particularly of those approaches often (dubiously?) labeled 'Paul within Judaism.' Though tightly focused on the issue of Paul's pneumatological discourse and ecclesial unity, there is much in this volume to rethink wider and central debates relating to Pauline theology. This is an important contribution to recent discussions concerning Pauline pneumatology, ecclesiology, and more besides."

—Chris Tilling, Head of Research and Senior Lecturer in New Testament, St Mellitus College

ONE SPIRIT

Pneumatology and Unity in the Corinthian Letters

KRIS SONG

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For my parents, Peter and Sunny Song

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1
Introduction

For in one Spirit we were all baptized into one body—Jews or Greeks, slaves or free—and we were all made to drink of one Spirit.

1 Corinthians 12:13

1.1. Introduction

"One Spirit" names the unity the Apostle Paul sought to establish among the various strands of differences he hoped to join together—whether divine and human, Jewish and gentile, male and female, or slave and free. But what kind of unity does the *pneuma* actually establish in Pauline thought?[1] The prevailing explanations in Pauline studies have focused on the ethnicity of Jews and gentiles as the main dividing obstacle that *pneuma* must somehow ontologically

[1] There continues to be no shared convention in referring to πνεῦμα (*pneuma*) in academic discourse. The hybrid capitonym "S/spirit" proposed by various scholars to appeal to the term's divine and/or human (or natural) referents has not been widely followed, either due to its clumsiness of use or because of the theological questions it begs. Recently, scholars have opted for the untranslated, transliterated *pneuma* to avoid anachronism or freighting the term with modern notions generated by the word. While *pneuma* will be preferred, the various forms of the term will appear in this study depending on sources and interlocutors. Where applicable, and for the sake of convention, the term "Spirit" may be used to connote an aspect of divine presence (or power) and "spirit" for other nondivine categories, but too much should not be drawn from these decisions.

transform, relativize, or transcend in order to unify diverse members into a new family. Instead of ethnic transcendence or transformation, this book proposes that the Spirit enables a unity within variegated patterns of worship among different groups of people. Framed this way, Paul regards the Spirit as establishing a new cultic space around the person of Christ such that Jewish and gentile believers retain much of their ethnic differences while joining together in common worship—what he calls "worship in Spirit."[2]

Looking closely at the cognitive environments that inform this theme of "one spirit," Paul's discourse reflects the ways in which the Jewish Scriptures interact with the subject of oneness, which not only asserts that God is one, but relatedly instructs that Israel's divided kingdoms should also reflect a corresponding unity.[3] But it is also the case that the idea of "one Spirit" resonates with popular Greco-Roman philosophical ways of thinking about the world and "God." "The whole of substance," according to Chrysippus, "is *unified* because it is totally pervaded by a *pneuma* through which the whole is held together."[4] The Stoics convey an interest in the interconnected nature of the world held together by *pneuma* so as to form the basis for a *fellowship* (κοινωνία) among humanity, a catchword that bears strong points of connection with Pauline spirituality.[5] Accordingly, there are various points of contact in the background literature that require exploration in connection with the unitive aspects of Paul's *pneuma*.

Turning to the secondary literature over this theme, key fault lines in the debates over Pauline theology converge precisely over how *pneuma* establishes a familial standing among God's people. Some within the "new perspective" lay tremendous store in the redefinition of God's people around the Messiah and the "Spirit" so that what is central for Paul is a "multinational" family bonded together (both Jew and gentile) by a "spirit" that transcends ethnic barriers.[6] But

2 Phil 3:3; cf. John 4:24.

3 E.g., Deut 6:7; Ezek 27:22; also Josephus, *Ant.* 4.212; Let. Aris. 160.

4 Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Mixt.* 216.144–46.

5 See § 3.2.5.

6 Notable within this group are the works of N. T. Wright, e.g., *Paul and the Faithfulness of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2013), 375, 1021, and 1138. The subject of the nonethnic criterion comprising Christian "churches" is virtually a

it is not self-evident that "spiritual" in Paul's idiom refers to something nonliteral or immaterial, and hence, in the unity it establishes, something ethnically neutral. It is for these reasons (among others) that the responses from Paul-within-Judaism scholars counter with a view of the *pneuma* that materially (even biologically) establishes for gentiles a ground of filial kinship with Abraham. With the *pneuma* so framed, gentiles who receive the *pneuma* receive a distinct yet coordinate standing as Abraham's heirs alongside Israel *kata sarka*.[7] Entering this debate from another (decidedly more theological) starting point, more recent "apocalyptic" readings of Paul privilege a distinct emphasis on the vertical revelation of God in Christ. In this view, the Spirit appears to be that which also must await the "Christ event" in order to enter the world for the first time as a new, unconditioned presence. This level of discontinuity threatens to destabilize an understanding of God's Spirit in Israel's own history and in the Hebrew Scriptures.[8] So, then, each of these three frameworks of Pauline thought uses "spirit" differently, even incommensurably, in furthering their larger arguments in ways that require correction, restatement, or at least further mutual exchange.

1.2. Thesis Stated

Rather than merely interrogate all of the ways Paul conceived of the *pneuma* and unity, this study will focus on the particular way Paul draws together the Spirit with Jewish and gentile unity. It will be the burden of this study to defend the thesis that Paul regards the Spirit as the relational principle for unity among God's people, whereby believers are joined to the Lord Jesus and one another. In drawing out this relationship, Paul relies on the predominantly cultic imagery

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sine qua non for new perspective scholarship more broadly. See, e.g., James D. G. Dunn, "Do We Undermine the Law?" in *Paul and the Mosaic Law*, ed. James D. G. Dunn (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 287–308; cf. John M. G. Barclay, "'Neither Jew nor Greek': Multiculturalism and the New Perspective on Paul," in *Ethnicity and the Bible*, ed. Mark G. Brett (Boston: Brill Academic, 2002), 197–214.

[7] See the discussion of this scholarship in § 6.3.

[8] Cf. Grant Macaskill, "History, Providence and the Apocalyptic Paul," *SJT* 70 (2017): 409–26.

of God's temple. The resulting spiritual complex that Paul constructs is articulated principally in terms of a new temple to be inhabited by both Jews and gentiles together but recombined in a way that preserves and accommodates their different identities and traditions. In this way, Paul did not regard the Spirit as establishing a transcendent "third race" that is neither Jew nor gentile, but rather regarded the Spirit as establishing a renewed cultic space "in Christ" where both Jews and gentiles (each in their distinct way) join together in worship of the same Lord. In this regard, Paul connects Jewish and gentile differences around the valence of cultic expression and temple worship, as opposed to addressing these differences in terms of strictly ethnicity or race. Consequently, for Paul, the unifying Spirit and accompanying notions of spiritualization did not supersede Israel's covenant and law, but expanded them to include gentiles among God's assembly, all the while preserving a fraught space for the continued observance of Torah for believing Jews.

Students of Pauline theology over the last century can appreciate how contested some of these larger conclusions are given the state of the debates. It is not the goal of this study to simply relitigate these arguments anew. Rather, by attending carefully to the logic of Paul's Spirit discourse, this study will seek to correct some of the ways "spirit," "spiritualization," and "spiritual fulfillment" have been used in the secondary scholarship—whether as a way of endorsing a supersession of Israel in Paul's communities or conferring a pneumatically ethnic basis for gentiles to claim Abrahamic patrilineage. If successful, the claims supporting this thesis will occupy a space between each of the major currents in Pauline theology at issue in this study,[9] improving our categories for understanding Paul's *pneuma* discourse, and so extend our reach toward understanding Paul's concept of spiritual unity.

The study will proceed in two sections. Chapters 1–3 form the descriptive portion of the study, where the various literary corpora (both Jewish and non-Jewish) covering the subject of the unitive dimensions of spirit are discussed and compared. This section will not merely prepare a foreground for Pauline pneumatology but will

[9] That is, the new perspective, the Paul-within-Judaism paradigm, and the apocalyptic Paul paradigm.

instead seek to allow the various textual groups to display their distinctive features and accents on the spirit. Chapters 4–5 demonstrate the constructive thesis concerning Paul's use and understanding of "one Spirit" consistent with what has already been articulated. These chapters will focus principally on 1–2 Corinthians for its primary evidence to ensure that the demonstrable Pauline themes are rooted in a single context rather than drawn from differing situations and occasions. This emphasis also serves to provide a counterweight to Pauline studies that have supported their major claims principally upon Galatians and Romans. Chapter 6 will test this thesis against the three prevailing perspectives on Pauline thought consistent with what has been introduced here.

1.3. Methodological Considerations

1.3.1. The Lexical-Semantic Issues Involving πνεῦμα and πνεύματικος

This study will not attempt a formal word study of Paul's use of *pneuma*. Understanding what Paul meant by *pneuma* is, after all, not contained in the lexeme itself or its proper translation, but more principally in its function in Pauline texts and communal discourse.[10] Studying Paul's view of the *pneuma* also requires that the scope of examination be expanded beyond the word *pneuma* and its cognates. On a basic level, widening the frame of analysis beyond lexical correspondence requires an awareness of the "associative field" with *pneuma*[11] that takes into account their syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations.[12]

[10] See the helpful discussion concerning sense and reference in *pneuma* discourse in Michael Winger, "The Meaning of Πνεῦμα in the Letters of Paul: A Linguistic Analysis of Sense and Reference," *CBQ* 78, no. 4 (2016): 706–25.

[11] Thiselton identifies the following words in the natural field: ἄνεμος, λαῖλαψ, πνοή; in the anthropological field: ψυχή, καρδία, ἐτράρχη; in the divine field: ἐν δυνάμει, κύριος; and in the supernatural beings field: λειτουργικά, στοιχεῖον, πνεύματα, δαίμων, ἀρχή. Anthony C. Thiselton, "Semantics and New Testament Interpretation," in *New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Principles and Methods*, ed. I. Howard Marshall (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 90–91.

[12] For further discussion of lexical semantic theory on *pneuma* in particular, see Thiselton, "Semantics"; also D. A. Cruse, *Lexical Semantics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 15; cf. Dirk Geeraerts, *Theories of Lexical Semantics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

With all this having been said, some of the initial lexical challenges involved with understanding *pneuma* in ancient texts must be grappled with at the outset.[13] As is the case with the wide semantic range of the modern usage of the word "spirit" (e.g., a spirited conversation, a spiritual encounter, esprit de corps, zeitgeist, the "Spirit of God," new age spirituality), there exists a similarly diverse semantic range of *pneuma* in the ancient world, not only in religious contexts, but also in ancient philosophical, cosmological, medical, magical, and sociopolitical contexts.[14] In antiquity, the *pneuma* was not only understood by some as the cohesive substance supporting all material reality, but it was also understood by others as the life principle transferred in seminal procreation, the dynamism behind human dispositions, or even the very presence of God. For these reasons, some have suggested that *pneuma* represents for modern readers the possibility of a legitimate "semantic void" where the distance between the ancient understanding lacks shared conceptual and lexical analogues with modern language and is hence virtually nontranslatable (at least in the sense of word-to-word translation without appeal to extensive historical explanation).[15]

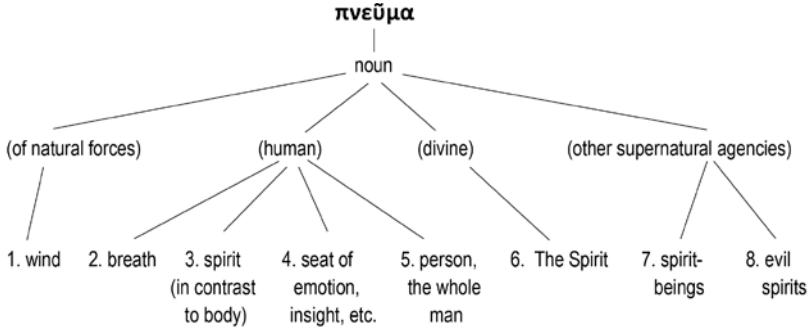
This is not to suggest that *pneuma* bore an indeterminate meaning in the ancient world, but it is to raise awareness of its polysemous quality and its flexibility to speak on multiple registers. Thiselton

[13] More comprehensive studies on these lexical semantic features can be found in Eduard Schweizer, "Πνεῦμα, Πνευματικός," in *TDNT*, ed. Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, trans. G. W. Bromiley, vol. 6 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964), 389–455; Terence Paige, "Who Believes in 'Spirit'? Πνεῦμα in Pagan Usage and Implications for the Gentile Christian Mission," *HTR* 95, no. 4 (2002): 417–36; Desta Heliso, "Divine Spirit and Human Spirit in Paul in the Light of Stoic and Biblical-Jewish Perspectives," in *Spirit and Christ in the New Testament and Christian Theology: Essays in Honor of Max Turner*, ed. I. Howard Marshall, Cornelis Bennema, and Volker Rabens (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 156–76.

[14] On this diversity, see Winger, "Meaning of Πνεῦμα"; also Paige, "Πνεῦμα."

[15] See Jennifer Eyl, "Semantic Voids, New Testament Translation, and Anachronism: The Case of Paul's Use of Ekklesia," *MTSR* 26, no. 4 (2014): 315–39 (explaining the difference between a linguistic void where the target language shares concepts with the source language without having a comparable lexeme, and a semantic or referential void where both concept and language are in some meaningful sense missing).

illustrates the semantic range of *pneuma* into at least four main categories: natural, human, divine, and other supernatural agencies (see in the following figure).[16]



Semantic Schematization of πνεῦμα (Thiselton)

Adding to the complexity, *pneuma* in ancient literary contexts is incapable of being essentialized or pressed into any reliable, thoroughgoing consistency. *Pneuma* is constantly invoked in relation to someone or something else. One finds in Paul's letters the "Spirit of God," or the "Spirit of the Son," or less personally, the "Spirit of faith," or "the spirit of adoption," or a "spirit of the world," or a "spirit of stupor." This genitival feature of the *pneuma*—a feature extending well outside Pauline discourse—ensures an open-ended adaptability to the objects, persons, emotions, and attributes to which it attaches. In many respects, this adaptability was what made the term useful in biblical and extrabiblical texts.[17]

A related complexity attends to how we understand correlated lexemes such as πνευματικός (spiritual). Recently scholars have paid more attention to the danger of anachronism when investing the idea

[16] Adapted from Thiselton, "Semantics," 91. In the various Greek philosophical, cosmological, meteorological, and anthropological occurrences, *pneuma* is often closely associated with a number of important related terms, namely ἀήρ, αἰθήρ, φῦσα, and ἄνεμος (as well as a number of minor terms such as ἀελλα, θύελλα, ἀναθυμίασις).

[17] See also Caroline E. Johnson Hodge, *If Sons, Then Heirs: A Study of Kinship and Ethnicity in the Letters of Paul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 73 ("These authors treat the spirit as if it can be attached to any entity or concept, somehow embodying the essence of the thing to which it is attached").

of "spirituality" with modern distinctions of simple immateriality.[18] The term "spiritual" or "spirituality" in modern discourse stands in danger of "growing so imprecise and polysemous as to be practically valueless."[19] Dale Martin among others has criticized the tendency of modern biblical interpreters to "take Paul's term '*pneumatic*' to be equivalent to the modern English term 'spiritual,' which usually designates something that is not 'physical' or 'natural.'"[20] Martin finds such anachronism rooted in the prevailing Cartesian dichotomies of the natural and supernatural, which readily map onto notions of physical versus spiritual.[21] The point is important for some of Paul-within-Judaism scholars who seek to recharacterize *pneuma* as ontologically more substantial and therefore decidedly material in opposition to something merely "fictive" and therefore "nonethnic" and universalizable.[22]

Studies emphasizing "spiritualization" and "supersessionism" in Pauline (and New Testament) studies similarly trade on fairly dichotomistic assumptions of spiritual fulfillment.[23] The term "spiritualizing" in these contexts often leverages the ability of *pneuma* to take physical objects and rituals such as a sacrifice and apply them not only to immaterial referents, but also toward abstract principles that interpret only the meaning or purpose behind embodied ritual or sacred space. Even Gärtner's important study on the temple leans more heavily on the actual word *pneumatikos* than is warranted when

[18] E.g., Matthew Thiessen, *Paul and the Gentile Problem* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 115.

[19] John M. G. Barclay, "Πνευματικός in the Social Dialect of Pauline Christianity," in *The Holy Spirit and Christian Origins: Essays in Honor of James D. G. Dunn*, ed. Graham N. Stanton, Stephen C. Barton, and Bruce W. Longenecker (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 167n30.

[20] Dale B. Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 127.

[21] Martin, *Corinthian Body*, 127. Cf. Ernst Käsemann, "Geist und Buchstabe," in *Paulinische Perspektiven* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1969), 235–85.

[22] See the discussion in § 6.3.1.

[23] E.g., Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, "Cultic Language in Qumran and in the NT," *CBQ* 38, no. 2 (1976): 159 ("The common definition of the term [spiritualization] presupposes a certain dualistic understanding between what relates to and consists of spirit [in an idealistic sense] and what relates to material or bodily realities"). See § 5.1.

he explains that "behind the word [*pneumatikos*] there seems to lie the meaning of 'true,' the 'true' temple of God."[24] Certainly Gärtner believes the new community of the Spirit is "true" in a way that the prior temples were not, but this presumes more about *pneuma* and *pneumatikos* than the evidence permits. Recently more scholars have argued that the significance of the Jerusalem temple has not been superseded or replaced simply because the locus of the temple in New Testament discourse shifts from the temple mount in Jerusalem to the believing community in terms of the Spirit.[25] At least as it pertains to the secondary literature, this study will pay particular attention to how scholarship uses "spiritualization" for the claim that physical and ethnic distinctions are transmuted to nonearthly realities.

1.3.2. Spatiality and Thirdspace

Particularly in the later chapters, this study will draw upon insights from spatial theory to open up better conceptual categories for Paul's spatial imagery concerning the Spirit (e.g., temple of the Holy Spirit or "God's building"). More recently, biblical studies has begun to catch up with the wider scholarly world in recognizing the value of developing a critical spatial awareness in texts.[26] Critical spatiality

[24] Bertil E. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament: A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 73 (commenting on the οἶκος πνεῦματικός of 1 Pet 2:5 and the similar occurrence in Eph 2:22).

[25] E.g., Jonathan Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple: Symbolism and Supersessionism in the Study of Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 213–45; Albert L. A. Hogeterp, *Paul and God's Temple: A Historical Interpretation of Cultic Imagery in the Corinthian Correspondence* (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 384; Kathleen Troost-Cramer, "De-Centralizing the Temple: A Rereading of Romans 15:16," *JJMJS*, no. 3 (2016): 71–101. Klawans helpfully isolates various strands of biases that seem to motivate the desire to regard Christian fulfillments as the evolutionary pinnacle of their Jewish forebears—rooted either in the view that Christ's sacrifice means the Jewish temple must be flawed or in the view that bloody sacrifice is a primitive practice which must sublimate in a heavenly sacrifice.

[26] See, e.g., Jon L. Berquist, "Critical Spatiality and the Construction of the Ancient World," in *Imagining Biblical Worlds: Studies in Spatial, Social and Historical Constructs*, ed. David M. Gunn and Paula McNutt (London: Sheffield

here refers to an interdisciplinary body of scholarship that is oriented toward aspects of space that move beyond its essentially regional, topographical, and even historical features (although these are necessarily in view), and more toward its socially constructed, processual, and contested quality—ways of understanding space that are capable of being conceived in new valences of significance.[27] As such, what is not in view here are the valuable historical reconstructions based upon available archaeological evidence that sketch an account of the ancient homes, *insulae*, and localities where the early churches might have met together.[28] Instead, this study's interest in spatiality is selective and heuristic, focusing principally on the theories of Edward Soja (following the work of Henri Lefebvre),[29] who elaborates on the critical construct of Thirdspace as an interpretive strategy for drawing out the social and relational practices latent in space.[30]

Academic Press, 2002), 14–29; also the collection of essays in Jorunn Økland, J. Cornelis de Vos, and Karen J. Wenell, eds., *Constructions of Space III: Biblical Spatiality and the Sacred* (New York: T&T Clark, 2016).

[27] For a good overview of the so-called spatial turn in the broader academic disciplines and its potential applications for biblical studies, see Patrick Schreiner, "Space, Place and Biblical Studies: A Survey of Recent Research in Light of Developing Trends," *CurBR* 14, no. 3 (2016): 340–71; see also Michael J. Thate, "Paul, Phrónēsis, and Participation: The Shape of Space and the Reconfiguration of Place in Paul's Letter to the Philippians," in *"In Christ" in Paul: Explorations in Paul's Theology of Union and Participation*, ed. Michael J. Thate, Kevin J. Vanhoozer, and Constantine R. Campbell (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 281–330; also Laura S. Nasrallah, "Spatial Perspectives: Space and Archaeology in Roman Philippi," in *Studying Paul's Letters: Contemporary Perspectives and Methods*, ed. Joseph A. Marchal (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 53–74.

[28] See, e.g., Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *St. Paul's Corinth: Texts and Archaeology*, 3rd ed. (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2002), 178–85; also David G. Horrell, "Domestic Space and Christian Meetings at Corinth: Imagining New Contexts and the Buildings East of the Theatre," *NTS* 50, no. 3 (2004): 349–69.

[29] Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996); Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 1992). A fuller discussion of these works is reserved for § 5.1.1.

[30] For a helpful introduction to Soja and the application of Thirdspace in biblical studies, see Paula M. McNutt, "'Fathers of the Empty Spaces' and 'Strangers Forever': Social Marginality and the Construction of Space," in *Imagining*

While the engagement of Lefebvre and Soja in biblical studies is now considerable[31] (although decidedly less developed in Pauline studies), its use in this study requires some justification. Lefebvre's theories elucidate the social construction of space, focusing on the systems, forces, politics, and socially constructed dynamics at work in the "production of space."[32] Toward these ends Lefebvre's work attempts more holistic forms of discourse between theoretical spatiality and history and sociality, a triad that generates a proclivity of analyzing space in threes—space as *perceived*, *conceived*, and *lived*. Soja's application of this "trialectic of spatiality" emphasizes Thirdspace as its own controlling critical category capable not only of incorporating all other modes of spatiality (whether perceived or conceived, real or imagined), but also more broadly capable of handling competing, even incommensurable viewpoints on a number of conceptual levels. In his words, Soja's Thirdspace is a critical space "where the geographical imagination can be expanded to encompass a multiplicity of perspectives."[33] Perhaps more famously, "everything comes together in Thirdspace: subjectivity and objectivity, the abstract and concrete, the real and imagined," among a range of

Biblical Worlds: Studies in Spatial, Social and Historical Constructs, ed. David M. Gunn and Paula McNutt (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 30–50; other studies that have drawn on Thirdspace for the study of biblical texts include G. Anthony Keddie, "Triclinium Trialectics: The Triclinium as Contested Space in Early Roman Palestine," *HTR* 113, no. 1 (2020): 63–88, Hannah K. Harrington, *The Purity and Sanctuary of the Body in Second Temple Judaism* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019); also Melissa Pula, "Rethinking the Community as Temple: Discourse and Spatial Practice in the Community Rule (1QS)" (PhD diss., University of Denver, 2015).

[31] E.g., Christopher Meredith, "Taking Issue with Thirdspace: Reading Soja, Lefebvre, and the Bible," in *Constructions of Space III: Biblical Spatiality and the Sacred*, ed. Jorunn Økland, J. Cornelis de Vos, and Karen J. Wenell (New York: T&T Clark, 2016), 75–76 (observing that the majority of essays on biblical space reviewed by the author utilize a "Sojan or Lefebvrian 'trialectic' as their controlling methodology").

[32] Lefebvre, *Production of Space*; also Mark Gottdiener, "A Marx for Our Time: Henri Lefebvre and the Production of Space," *Sociological Theory* 11 (1993): 129–36.

[33] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 5.

other binary antipodes.[34] Such methodological open-endedness has allowed Soja's theories to address a range of issues at once, whether spatiality, economic inequality, social justice, or political resistance. Such flexibility provides interpreters of Scripture a range of potentially helpful applications. However, this very open-endedness has been criticized as encompassing far too much to be "useful as a tool for critical reflection."[35]

For these reasons, the limits on spatial theory for interpreting texts are important to recognize. Lefebvre himself warned that those analyzing space in literary texts "will find it everywhere and in every guise."[36] With such cautions in place, our interest in Thirdspace is limited heuristically to the categories it opens for understanding Paul's discourse on the *pneuma* in ways that are unavoidably spatial. When Paul relies on the imagery of "the temple of the Holy Spirit" (1 Cor 6:19), a joining of many members forming one body, a unity that combines Jewish and gentile as well as male and female modes of difference, Paul's spatial imagery asks his readers to combine multiple layers of perspectives and considerations at once. Consequently, Soja's Thirdspace model, while multidisciplinary in its epistemological and methodological aims (and hence not properly tailored for our narrower interpretive goals), still can provide us with otherwise unavailable conceptual categories that help clarify the social function of Paul's spatial imagery. As we will see, framing Pauline discourse along its spatial terms adds an oft-neglected dimension to long-standing Pauline debates concerning the church and Israel that have mainly focused upon questions of time and narrative identity (i.e., whether the church stands in the place of Israel or whether Paul homogenizes racial difference by means of the *pneuma*). We will argue that Paul's

[34] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 56–57. By "everything," Soja is not speaking literally of every conceivable thing in existence, but the totality of the conceptual antipodes that he had been referencing in his statement (e.g., the subjective and objective bases of knowledge as well as modern and postmodern epistemologies).

[35] Meredith, "Taking Issue with Thirdspace," 80; for similar concerns on the application of Thirdspace in religious texts, see also Claudia V. Camp, "Storied Space, or, Ben Sira 'Tells' a Temple," in *Imagining Biblical Worlds: Studies in Spatial, Social and Historical Constructs*, ed. David M. Gunn and Paula McNutt (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 64–80.

[36] Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 15.

view of the Spirit, rather than establishing a third race that is neither Jew nor gentile, constructs a new understanding of sacred space that is able to accommodate the differences of both groups while still capable of uniting them in worship of the same God.

1.4. The Available Sources for the *Pneuma*

Hermann Gunkel's watershed study on the Spirit begins with a question that continues to resonate for subsequent studies of the ancient *pneuma*: "What are the sources in which we can recognize how the primitive Christian community viewed the Spirit and his activities?"[37] Because this study only seeks to draw out one aspect from Paul's view of the *pneuma*, this presentation of Paul's literary and historical context must engage the material from a correspondingly selective and eclectic angle. Even with these limits in place, the task remains complicated due to the proclivity of scholars to draw from an expansive array of sources when explicating *pneuma*. Depending on the study, the relevant context for Paul's view of the Spirit may be found in the literature of Hellenistic Judaism, or the cosmological philosophy of Stoicism, or the prophetic material of the Hebrew Bible, or the popular views of *pneuma* discernible from the Greek medical texts, or the spiritism of the ancient Greek magical papyri, or from the broader "spirit world" of Paul's time, or from the dialogues of Plato and Aristotle (or the pre-Socratic philosophers), or perhaps the mystery cults of the common era (and the options continue).[38] Certainly, not all of these various contextual sources are compatible with one another, and some will prove more probative than others for our research question. Nevertheless, this study shares the opinion of Jörg Frey and John Levison, whose important introduction to Pauline pneumatology insists on the "recognition that borders between ancient cultures were porous" and therefore one must admit a wide acceptance of "all potentially relevant ancient cultures and corpora" to inform a

[37] Hermann Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit: The Popular View of the Apostolic Age and the Teaching of the Apostle Paul; A Biblical-Theological Study* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 11.

[38] To this we can add evidentiary material from Jewish mysticism, *pneuma* metaphors in Greco-Roman political discourse, the oracles at Delphi, and the writings of Plutarch.

well-rounded understanding of *pneuma* (in this case, in the letters of Paul).[39] Consequently, the character of the next two chapters will be simultaneously selective in focus, while also expansive in the array of potential contextual evidence. Admittedly, this may result in a presentation of evidence that can be critiqued as a mile wide and an inch deep. However, the alternative of foreclosing meaningful avenues of evidence presents a far less desirable outcome.

Finally, the various sources will be analyzed with their own structures and controlling ideas in view—to the extent that these can be successfully identified. Eibert Tigchelaar helpfully cautions that when gathering evidence concerning the "spirit" in the relevant texts, one "cannot extract statements about holy spirit in specific texts from their textual context and larger worldview." He advises rather that "one should rather compare the different systems [that produced the text] than individual statements."[40]

[39] Jörg Frey and John R. Levison, "The Origins of Early Christian Pneumatology: On the Rediscovery and Reshaping of the History of Religions Quest," in *The Holy Spirit, Inspiration, and the Cultures of Antiquity: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Jörg Frey and John R. Levison (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 36.

[40] Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "Historical Origins of the Early Christian Concept of the Holy Spirit," in *The Holy Spirit, Inspiration, and the Cultures of Antiquity: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Jörg Frey and John R. Levison (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 240.

2
Jewish Background Material for One Spirit

> I humbly beseech thee, that thou wilt let some portion of thy Spirit come down and inhabit in this temple, that thou mayest appear to be with us upon earth.
>
> Josephus, *Ant.* 8.114

2.1. Jewish Biblical and Extrabiblical Pneumatology in Wide-Angle Perspective

2.1.1. Spirit in the Hebrew Bible and the LXX

There are 389 references to רוח in the Jewish Scriptures (with eleven Aramaic references in the book of Daniel). The default meaning of this term denoting "air in motion" or "wind" shifts in biblical texts where it is contextually paired with God or YHWH.[1] The expressions רוח אלהים (Spirit of *Elohim*) and רוח יהוה (Spirit of *YHWH*) take on the sense of the "breath" or "spirit" of God in terms that bear a close relational association with the divine identity or his activity upon

[1] Cf. Miles V. Van Pelt, Walter C. Kaiser, and Daniel I. Block, "רוח," in *NIDOTTE*, ed. Willem VanGemeren, 3 vols. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997); Michael R. Westall, "Scope of the Term 'Spirit of God' in the Old Testament," *Indian Journal of Theology* 26, no. 1 (1977): 29–43; Leon J. Wood, *The Holy Spirit in the Old Testament* (Eugene, Ore.: Wipf & Stock, 1998); Robert Koch, *Der Geist Gottes im Alten Testament* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1991); Manfred Dreytza, *Der Theologische Gebrauch von* Ruah *im Alten Testament: Eine Wort- Und Satzsemantische Studie* (Giessen: Brunnen, 1990).

creation.[2] Because wind can naturally connote "breath" in humans, the word has also been extended metaphorically to signify "the seat of emotion" and inner disposition.[3] Some have suggested for these reasons that the majority of references to רוח in the Scriptures bear an anthropological sense.[4] While on the face of the evidence this is largely accurate, such distinctions of an anthropological "spirit" over against a divine "spirit" in the Scriptures are fairly artificial if one does not take into account the concomitant notion that man's breath of life is donated by God, who is "the LORD God of the spirits of all flesh" (Num 27:16).

In general, biblical scholarship on the Jewish Bible has favored a distinction between the divine in-breathing of the "spirit of life" that was possessed by all humanity and the divine spirit of power that worked miraculous or prophetic wonders among select charismatic individuals.[5] The scholarship of John Levison has labored to establish that this reading derives largely from a Christian misinterpretation of the Old Testament spirit passages, and that the "spirit of life" is the same "spirit of power" in all humanity by fact of creation, capable of cultivation by godly persons at different times and circumstances.[6] One of the stubborn areas of Scripture that refuses to cooperate with Levison's thesis, however, is Numbers 11. When the "spirit" is put upon the seventy elders, enabling them to prophesy, Moses hopes for a democratization of a special anointing of the spirit: "Would that all the LORD's people were prophets, and that the LORD put his spirit on all the LORD's people" (Num 11:29).

The prevailing Greek translation of the occurrences of *ruach* (רוח) in the LXX is overwhelmingly *pneuma* (πνεῦμα) when denoting the

[2] E.g., Lloyd R. Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament* (Cleveland, Tenn.: CPT Press, 2011), 12–13; and Daniel I. Block, "The Prophet of the Spirit: The Use of Rwh in the Book of Ezekiel," *JETS* 32 (1989): 27–49.

[3] A helpful semantic taxonomy of רוח in the Old Testament is found in James M. Hamilton Jr., "God with Men in the Torah," *WTJ* 65 (2003): 130–33.

[4] E.g., Pieter de Vries, "The Relationship between the Glory of YHWH and the Spirit of YHWH in the Book of Ezekiel, Part 1," *J. Bib. Pneum. Res.* 5 (2013): 110.

[5] Support for this characterization is described in detail in John R. Levison, *Filled with the Spirit* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 3–14.

[6] See in particular John R. Levison, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism* (Boston: Brill Academic, 2002) and *Filled with the Spirit*, 3–14.

range of its uses—whether breath, wind, the creation breath of life, human disposition, and the spirit of God.[7] These occurrences indicate little difficulty equating *ruach* with *pneuma* when referring to God or God's activity upon people.[8] The same cannot be said, however, when *ruach* is used to denote anthropological aspects of the human spirit. Although one must resist treating LXX translation decisions collectively,[9] we can observe a tendency for the translators to opt for other Hellenistic terms (such as ψυχή) when *ruach* points to the inner emotions or affective quality of humans.[10] As we will see, the term *ruach* will develop more significance with respect to God's sacred presence in the prophetic tradition.[11]

2.1.2. The Pneumatology of the Hellenistic Jewish Texts

Philo, Josephus, and Wisdom of Solomon share common features that invite being read together (not least their similarity in provenance

[7] Cf. Marie E. Isaacs, *The Concept of Spirit: A Study of Pneuma in Hellenistic Judaism and Its Bearing on the New Testament* (London: Heythrop College, 1976), 10 (tabulating 277 out of its 378 occurrences in the Hebrew Bible).

[8] The number of occurrences will vary depending on the level of abstraction one determines *ruach* to function, whether as impersonal, natural phenomenon, or a sign of God's own power in creation and humanity. Cf. Richard E. Averbeck, "Breath, Wind, Spirit and the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament," in *Presence, Power and Promise: The Role of the Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, ed. David G. Firth and Paul D. Wegner (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2011), 25–37.

[9] So the comments of James Barr, "Paul and the LXX: A Note on Some Recent Work," *JTS* 45, no. 2 (1994): 593–601.

[10] See, e.g., Gen 41:8, Exod 35:21, and Isa 54:6 for the use of ψυχή and its cognates as a translation for *ruach* in its affective sense. See the discussion in Isaacs, *Concept of Spirit*, 10–14. When *ruach* is associated with inner, negative emotions, θυμός (and its related compounds) serves as a preferred translation for *ruach* (e.g., Job 15:13; 6:4; Zech 6:8; Ezek 39:29).

[11] See § 2.2.3. Undeveloped in this study is a discussion of *ruach* as the spirit of prophecy. This important aspect of Spirit that is developed in the Hebrew Bible continues to hold its shape firmly into the extrabiblical literature of the Second Temple period. See the discussion of this feature of early Jewish pneumatology in Robert P. Menzies, *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology: With Special Reference to Luke-Acts* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 53–112. Also passed over is the material pertaining to spirit possession in the ancient world and its insights into New Testament and Pauline interpretation. For this, see now Giovanni B. Bazzana, *Having the Spirit of Christ: Spirit Possession and Exorcism in the Early Christ Groups* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020).

and thematic content). The pneumatological reflections of Philo of Alexandria (ca. 20 BCE–50 CE) supply an extensive discussion of *pneuma* in conversation with the Hebrew Bible.[12] However we characterize Philo's relationship between his Jewish tradition and Greek philosophical ideas, his work reflects a protracted conversation between the symbols and concepts of both worlds, offering a scripturally based *apologia* of the superiority of Jewish ethical monotheism over the Greek philosophical traditions (indebted though he was to the latter).[13] Consequently, Philo's views on the Spirit reflect an eclectic philosophical engagement, indicating both adaptation and criticism of Stoic pneumatology as well as interaction with Platonism and Pythagoreanism.[14] Philo appears to take for granted a view of the *pneuma* that indicates a material, unifying substance with the cosmos in line with Stoic cosmology.[15] But Philo's view of the *pneuma* finds broad ranges of expression. *Pneuma* is the essence of the soul and the impress of the divine image (*Spec.* 1.171; 4.171). It is also the dynamic spirit of prophecy and as such can even transform special persons (like Moses) with a form of greater kinship with the divine (*Mos.* 1.175; *QE* 2.29). But for all of the Greek philosophical engagement that Philo marshalled, his theological commitments

[12] See most recently Fulco Timmers, "Philo of Alexandria's Understanding of Πνεῦμα in Deus 33–50," in *The Holy Spirit, Inspiration, and the Cultures of Antiquity: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Jörg Frey and John R. Levison (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 265–92; also Levison, *Spirit in First-Century*, 137–60; André Laurentin, "Le pneuma dans la doctrine de Philon," *ETL* 27, no. 2 (1951): 390–437; G. Verbeke, *L'évolution de la doctrine du Pneuma du stoïcisme à saint Augustin* (Paris: D. de Brouwer, 1945), 236–59.

[13] Cf. Cristina Termini, "Philo's Thought within the Context of Middle Judaism," in *The Cambridge Companion to Philo*, ed. Adam Kamesar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 95–123; also John M. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists: 80 B.C. to A.D. 220* (1977; repr., Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 135–82.

[14] E.g., Levison, *Spirit in First-Century*, 151 ("Philo's attitude toward Stoicism is, therefore, elastic, stretching from acceptance [*Opif.* 135] to critical adaptation [*Gig.* 19–31; *Spec.* 4.123] to vociferous opposition [*Plant.* 18–26]"); Troels Engberg-Pedersen, *Cosmology and Self in the Apostle Paul: The Material Spirit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 24–25.

[15] E.g., *Opif.* 146 ("Every person, in respect of the mind, is allied to the divine Reason, having come into being as a copy or fragment or ray of that blessed nature, but in the structure of his body is allied to all the world").

were predominantly in deference to "the One who is" (ὁ ὤν) (Exod 3:14) over "the One" (τὸ ὄν) of Platonic discourse.[16] As such, simplistic judgments that locate Philo's pneumatology as a reiteration of the Stoic material *pneuma* are likely to misunderstand how closely Philo associated *pneuma* with the God of the Hebrew Bible and imparted with *pneuma* a holy transcendence that cut against not only the immanentism of Stoicism, but also the idealism of Plato.[17]

Philo's presentation of the Jewish theological tradition in terms understandable for pagan readers invites comparison with the writings of Josephus (ca. 37–100 CE).[18] Josephus' rich experience as a priestly scholar who served in the Jerusalem temple, who then lived to see its destruction, and then lived as a diaspora Jew with conferred Roman citizenship provides an important vantage point from which he writes the history of the Jewish people.[19] Josephus (consistent with what has been found in the LXX) is comfortable with the translation of *ruach* as *pneuma* where the meaning comports with the contemporary Greek understanding of breath and wind. But he is much less willing to equate the two when dealing with the anthropological

[16] Philo identifies the ὁ ὤν (the "one who is" [Exod 3:14]) compared to the τὸ ὄν so common in Platonism, although elsewhere employs both titles for Israel's God; e.g., *Leg.* 1.99; *Det.* 160; *Post.* 21, 175; *Deus.* 11, 52, 55, 69, 108–9; *Plant.* 21, 22; *Migr.* 169; *Her.* 95, 229; *Mut.* 11, 27; *Mos.* 2.161; *Spec.* 1.270, 313, 344, 345; *Virt.* 34, 215.

[17] See Hans Leisegang, *Der heilige Geist: Das Wesen und Werden der mystisch-intuitiven Erkenntnis in der Philosophie und Religion der Griechen* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1919), 67, 100 (holding that Philo balanced the immanentism of Stoicism with the transcendence of Platonism by holding onto features of both).

[18] For recent review of the scholarship surrounding Josephus and a treatment of his life and work, see in particular William den Hollander, *Josephus, the Emperors, and the City of Rome: From Hostage to Historian* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); and Shaye J. D. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome: His Vita and Development as a Historian* (Boston: Brill, 2002).

[19] The priestly service of Josephus in the Jerusalem temple is inferred from his own testimony (*Life* 1–2); cf. Michael Tuval, *From Jerusalem Priest to Roman Jew: On Josephus and the Paradigms of Ancient Judaism* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013). On the debated reliability and motivation of his writings given the level of influence from Roman patronage, see Tessa Rajak, *Josephus*, 2nd ed. (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2002), and the essays on Josephus and his readers in Steve Mason, *Josephus, Judea, and Christian Origins: Methods and Categories* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 7–35.

register of these terms.[20] In fact, Josephus, as a whole, exhibits a fairly cautious approach in his use of *pneuma*, reserving the divine association with the *pneuma* principally to its reference to the spirit of prophecy and to the divine presence in the temple.[21]

Other texts of this milieu demonstrate significant points of contact with the Jewish Scriptures and Hellenistic ideas associated with the spirit (most notably *logos* and *sophia*). Wisdom of Solomon (ca. 20 CE–70 CE) portrays a "spirit" that is closely linked with wisdom such that its spirit fills the earth, but also counsels the heart of the godly to flee from deceit and unrighteousness (Wis 1:4–7). As an "intelligent spirit," Wisdom is the "breath of God, and a pure emanation of the glory of the Almighty" that "pervades and penetrates all things" (Wis 8:22–25). In this way, it marks the order and goodness of creation as it also cultivates the virtue of the righteous, who will stand in judgment. The idea of judgment and the question of justice in a world that appears full of injustice are a driving theme in Wisdom, which explores eschatological restoration in its distinct way. Wisdom provides a searching explanation of the vindication of the righteous despite all appearances to the contrary, where the world is full of injustice, where life remains "short and sorrowful" for the godly, and where "might is right (2:11)."[22]

Wisdom is also notable for its extended polemic of idolatry against the "ignorant" and the nations (e.g., Wis 14:22), contrasted with the

[20] See in particular Ernest Best, "The Use and Non-Use of Pneuma by Josephus," *NovT* 3, no. 3 (1959): 218–25.

[21] John R. Levison, "The Debut of the Divine Spirit in Josephus's Antiquities," *HTR* 87, no. 2 (1994): 123–38; Best, "Pneuma," 223 ("The only genuinely new place into which Josephus introduces the conception of the divine *pneuma* comes in Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the Temple"); cf. 1 Kgs 8:27–30; 2 Chr 6:18–21. While *shekinah* is often invoked of God's temple presence, Jewish rabbinic literature also knows of a "holy spirit" in connection with "the presence [*shekinah*]" without any apparent difference of meaning. See George F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim* (1927; repr., Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1997), 437n167 (attributing the relationship to the copyists and citing examples).

[22] See the discussion of justice and judgment in Wisdom in Jonathan A. Linebaugh, *God, Grace, and Righteousness in Wisdom of Solomon and Paul's Letter to the Romans: Texts in Conversation* (Boston: Brill, 2013), 25–42.

immunity of Israel from judgment in light of their own "knowledge" of God as the proper object of worship (cf. Wis 15:1–5). Wisdom is so committed to this presentation of Israel as exempt from the judgment against the idolatrous nations that in its review of the history of Israel it largely omits the golden calf episode and God's judgment for Israel's own idolatry.[23] The basis for God's just judgment upon the nations for their idolatry is rooted in their ignorance (13:1) and their failure to recognize God as creator (13:5–6). The impulse to worship created things, according to Wisdom, becomes the root cause of every other kind of amoral living: "For the worship of idols not to be named is the beginning and cause and end of every evil" (14:27).

As the theodicy unfolds, Wisdom upholds a way of framing the world in a particular pattern that modern Pauline scholars might recognize as "eschatological tension"—the notion that despite the way things appear for the righteous, God will defeat his enemies and establish justice, and his righteous ones already live as though vindicated (5:15–23).[24] It is notable, then, that even in a text such as Wisdom, where the judgment of the nations and the unrighteous is fully in view (and, by association, its eschatological restoration), it along with the other texts of this group does not present a portrait of Israel's eschatological restoration in terms of a fresh outpouring of the Spirit as might be found in the prophets (e.g., Joel 3:1–3^{LXX}). As it stands, the Hellenistic Jewish extrabiblical texts remain largely uninterested in developing the prior scriptural traditions that link *the giving of the pneuma* with the eschatological restoration of the world.[25]

[23] See, e.g., Linebaugh, *God, Grace, and Righteousness*, 67–69; also John M. G. Barclay, "'I Will Have Mercy on Whom I Have Mercy': The Golden Calf and Divine Mercy in Romans 9–11 and Second Temple Judaism," *EC* 1 (2010): 82–106.

[24] See in particular Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "Overlapping Ages at Qumran and 'Apocalyptic' in Pauline Theology," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature*, ed. Jean-Sebastien Rey (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 309–26. Stuckenbruck insightfully contends that the shared features of eschatological tension in Jewish apocalyptic literature with Pauline eschatology caution against isolating Pauline innovation as a feature of a distinctly Christian apocalyptic.

[25] E.g., Isaacs, *Concept of Spirit*, 82–85.

2.1.3. The Pneumatology of the Qumran Corpus and Palestinian Judaism

What is true of the relative lack of eschatological orientation with respect to the Spirit in Hellenistic Jewish texts can also surprisingly be said of the apocalyptic literature of the intertestamental period and texts of Palestinian Jewish provenance. While this group of texts bearing so-called apocalyptic features is undoubtedly future-oriented, the shape of their eschatological horizon is curiously lacking in reference to the Spirit.[26]

The notable exception to this is the profusion of references to the "spirit" and its eschatological distinction in the texts associated with the Qumran community.[27] The density and variety of the kinds of spirit discourse in these texts reflect both a wide semantic range as well as a potential amalgam of various traditions forming the overall view of "spirit" and its uses for the community.[28] The range and use

[26] See Richard Bauckham, "The Role of the Spirit in the Apocalypse," *EvQ* 52, no. 2 (1980): 69–70 (attesting to the "rarity of allusion to the Spirit in intertestamental apocalyptic" and speculating that it is due at least in part to the idea of the absence of the prophetic Spirit in the intertestamental period). We note that 1 Enoch makes multiple allusions to the "Lord of Spirits" as a title for God, and that the spirit can be depicted as a means of visionary transportation (e.g., 1 En. 70:2), but these are isolated occurrences. Outside of eschatological contexts, the "spirit" is still invoked in this literature, but principally as the "spirit of prophecy." E.g., 1 En. 91.1; Jub. 25.14; 31.12; LAB 18.11; 4 Ezra 14.22.

[27] I accept the thesis that there is an identifiable sectarian community that is connected with the Dead Sea Scrolls and furthermore that the identification of the so-called *Yaḥad* community with the Essenes (as described by Philo and Josephus) is legitimate. Cf. John J. Collins, "The Yaḥad and 'the Qumran Community,'" in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb*, ed. Charlotte Hempel and Judith M. Lieu (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 81–96. The issues continue to be a matter of debate in light of the characterization of the Dead Sea Scrolls collectively as a "library" which includes indisputably nonsectarian texts. E.g., Sidnie White Crawford and Cecilia Wassen, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran and the Concept of a Library* (Leiden: Brill, 2015). See the helpful criteria presented by Carol A. Newsom in the whimsically titled "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters*, ed. William Henry Propp, Baruch Halpern, and David Noel Freedman (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167–88.

[28] Earlier scholarship grappled with the question of whether the nonbiblical texts at Qumran evince a consistent pneumatology or an amalgam of Jewish and Iranian (Zoroastrian) influences—particularly the features of the Two Spirits

of spirit occurrences in the nonbiblical Qumran texts map fairly well with the pattern found in the Jewish Scriptures.[29] In perhaps surprising contrast to the Hellenistic Jewish literature, it is in the Scrolls (along with other Palestinian Jewish texts) that we find repeated references in terms of "holy spirit" also prevalent in the New Testament.[30]

While the details of the Qumran community continue to be a site of disagreement, their sectarian character[31] as a generally accepted distinction helps to locate their self-identification as an elect group upon whom has been given secret wisdom and revelation by God (1QS 6.19; 1QH^{a} 19.12–17; CD 3.14). The spirit is key in mediating this revealed disclosure to the elect. The remnant of the righteous are taught by those "anointed by the holy spirit and those who see the truth" (CD 2.12–13),[32] who are in contrast to those of the "spirit of flesh," who are unable to understand and discern the things that only

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treatise of 1QS 4 which parallel the two-spirit cosmology of Zoroastrian belief and cuts against other views on the Spirit elsewhere in the Scrolls. On the early history of this scholarship, see Arthur Everett Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruaḥ at Qumran* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 26–63. On Zoroastrian two-spirit cosmology, see, e.g., Prods Oktor Skjærvø, *The Spirit of Zoroastrianism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 8–10.

[29] For a discussion of the *pneuma* occurrences in this corpus and its points of comparison with the Jewish Scriptures, see in particular Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "Historical Origins of the Early Christian Concept of the Holy Spirit: Perspectives from the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Holy Spirit, Inspiration, and the Cultures of Antiquity: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Jörg Frey and John R. Levison (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 167–240; see also Sekki, *Meaning of Ruaḥ at Qumran*; Sven Tengström and Heinz-Josef Fabry, "רוח," TDOT 13:365–402; also Jörg Frey, "Paul's View of the Spirit in the Light of Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature*, ed. Jean-Sebastien Rey (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 249 ("[W]e can say that רוח roughly covers the same range of meanings as in the Hebrew Bible, but with some changes and extensions").

[30] As is commonly reported, the occurrences are rare (and likely late) in the Old Testament (Ps 51:13^{LXX}; Isa 63:10–11; Dan 5:12; 6:3^{LXX}). For a discussion of the occurrences in the Jewish literature, see the discussion of Levison, *Filled*, 127–36, and Frey, "View of the Spirit," 249.

[31] See, e.g., George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Polarized Self-Identification in the Qumran Texts," in *Defining Identities: We, You, and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Florentino García Martínez and Mladen Popović (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 23–31.

[32] Tigchelaar, "Historical Origins," 198; cf. 1QS 8.15–16; 4QD^{e} 2 ii 14; 4Q381.69.4.

the sectarian can "know by means of the spirit that you have given me" (1QH^a 5.33–36).

Furthermore, some of the sectarian texts reflect an appreciation for a new covenant that God renews for the sectarian community. We note that despite the distinct usage of the term "new covenant" throughout the Scrolls, the community did not envisage a *new* covenant in the later Christian (or even Pauline) sense, but rather a *renewal* of the covenant that had been established with Israel.[33] The Damascus Document[34] makes clear that the covenant is the same covenant that God institutes at Sinai (CD 15.7–10).[35] Furthermore, the community's understanding of the new covenant appears to find significance in the restoration promises of both Jeremiah 31 and Ezekiel 36.[36] Just as these prophets (Ezekiel in particular) emphasize the inner reality of a renewed covenant that is realized in terms of God's Spirit and expressed in terms of keeping the commandments, likewise the *Hodayot* refers to "seeking a spirit of understanding, and strengthening myself through your holy spirit, and clinging to the truth of your covenant."[37] He continues to appeal to "the spirit that you have placed in me . . . purifying me by your holy spirit" for the benefit of the ones "you have chosen and for those who keep your commandments" (1QH^a 8.21–22).

[33] E.g., Craig A. Evans, "Covenant in the Qumran Literature," in *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Jacqueline C. R. De Roo (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 79 ("The 'new' or 'renewed' covenant in the Dead Sea Scrolls is the same covenant God established with Israel at Sinai"); Timothy Lim, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Very Short Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 112.

[34] Whether it originated from within the community or was appropriated for its purposes, scholars are in general agreement of the Essenic character of the document for its sectarian identity and practice. See, e.g., Philip R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document"* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1983), 202–4; E. P. Sanders, "The Dead Sea Sect and Other Jews: Commonalities, Overlaps, and Differences," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context*, ed. Timothy H. Lim (Edinburgh: Bloomsbury, 2001), 41.

[35] But this covenant is not temporally bound in a closed continuum as Abraham and the fathers are conferred with the status of "eternal partners in the Covenant" even though they are predecessors to Moses (CD 3.3–4).

[36] E.g., CD 8.20–21; Tigchelaar, "Historical Origins," 193.

[37] 1QH^a 8.18–32.

One final aspect of this corpus that will be of particular interest to the balance of this study concerns the well-discussed phenomenon of the community's self-identification in terms of a temple to the Lord.[38] With their disenchantment with the Hasmonean temple administration likely serving as the raison d'être for the shape of their temple discourse, the texts reveal a carefully constructed reimagining of their own mediation of the temple properly administered within their own community. In this regard, we find the designation of the sect itself as a "holy house" or "Most Holy Dwelling" (1QS 5.5–6; 8.5–6; 9.3–6). Notably, however, the sect avoids using the formal word for temple (היכל) in making this communal designation. The evidence indicates that the sectarian temple administration did not take the form of actual offerings on site, but was rather expressed through prayer, ritual, fervent study, and observance of the Torah.[39] Importantly, in contrast to Pauline temple discourse, this literature lacks any association between the spirit and the temple.

If we accept the Temple Scroll as reflecting sectarian thinking on the matter,[40] the sect looked further to a fulfillment of a future, eschatological temple, where the temple of God would dwell among his people. When comparing the Temple Scroll with Ezekiel 37, Wentling observes a striking similarity with the expectation of the future restoration of God's dwelling with his people: "Ezek 37:28: I, Yahweh, am consecrating Israel when my *miqdash* is in their midst forever. 11QT 29.8b–9a: and I shall consecrate my *miqdash* by my glory, for I shall dwell upon it (him) with my glory until (during) the day of

[38] See in particular Bertil E. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament: A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965); also, helpfully, Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Community without Temple: The Qumran Community's Withdrawal from the Jerusalem Temple," in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel / Community without Temple*, ed. Beate Ego, Armin Lange, and Peter Pilhofer (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 267–84; and more recently Eyal Regev, "Community as Temple: Revisiting Cultic Metaphors in Qumran and the New Testament," *BBR* 28, no. 4 (2018): 604–31.

[39] Cf. Schiffman, "Community without Temple," 272–76.

[40] See the discussion in Sidnie White Crawford, *The Temple Scroll and Related Texts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 17–28.

blessing."[41] Wentling goes on to argue, along with others, that while the sect's tone is eschatological and apocalyptic in character, the cosmic victory of God over the sons of darkness does not end history, but merely the judgment of their enemies. There remains, therefore, space for a physical return to the temple where its original and embodied administration can be realized in this restored future.[42] In this sense, the temple for the Qumran community remains in Jerusalem. Their temple self-identification then is a qualified and provisional marker by which their faithful obedience to the true understanding of the Torah upholds God's revealed will until they are vindicated and the Jerusalem temple is finally restored to them.

2.1.4. What Is *Pneuma*? Material and Ontological Issues

A common reproach in recent pneumatology studies targets the anachronistic *Tendenz* among scholars to invest the biblical use of πνεῦμα (רוח) with modern concepts denoting immateriality.[43] Consequently, a commensurate amount of research over the last several decades has emphasized the material (or *corporeal*) aspects of *pneuma* that appear taken for granted in many of the relevant sources of classical antiquity.[44] The *materiality* of *pneuma* bears significance for a

[41] Judith L. Wentling, "Unraveling the Relationship between 11QT, the Eschatological Temple, and the Qumran Community," *RevQ* 14 (1989): 61. Wentling makes the astute observation that 11QT substitutes "miqdash" for "Israel," suggesting intentional redactional activity to place the locus of restoration not on Israel as a whole, but the Qumran community.

[42] Wentling, "Eschatological Temple," 70–72; also Schiffman, "Community without Temple," 280.

[43] See, e.g., Paul Mark Robertson, "De-Spiritualizing Pneuma: Modernity, Religion, and Anachronism in the Study of Paul," *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 26, no. 4–5 (2014): 365–83. This kind of rhetoric is common in authors stressing a material aspect of *pneuma*; e.g., Dale B. Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 127.

[44] E.g., Engberg-Pedersen, *Cosmology and Self*; Jeremy W. Barrier, "Jesus' Breath: A Physiological Analysis of Πνεῦμα within Paul's Letter to the Galatians," *JSNT* 37, no. 2 (2014): 115–38; Troy W. Martin, "Paul's Pneumatological Statements and Ancient Medical Texts," in *The New Testament and Early Christian Literature in Greco-Roman Context: Studies in Honor of David E. Aune*, ed. John Fotopoulos (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 105–28. See also a full discussion of this subject

variety of reasons in the secondary scholarship. For some, materiality would prove important for Paul's sacramentalism and the transmission of *pneuma*,[45] while for others, it would articulate the ontological basis for ethical transformation in Paul's native idiom,[46] and for still others, it would better convey the proper understanding of Paul's account of how gentiles join Jewish covenant members as children of Abraham and heirs of God.[47]

It is indisputable that the Greek and Roman philosophical sources assume a corporeal and decidedly material (as opposed to immaterial) understanding of *pneuma*. Aristotle takes for granted that "pneuma is a body" (τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα σῶμα).[48] He along with Hippocrates wrote extensively about *pneuma* and its role in transferring vital heat in reproductive transmission.[49] This is also true of the ancient Greek medical texts that presume *pneuma* as a substance that can be applied or received by human respiration or even absorption of the pores of

in Volker Rabens, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul: Transformation and Empowering for Religious-Ethical Life*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2013), 25–120.

[45] E.g., Friedrich Wilhelm Horn, *Das Angeld des Geistes: Studien zur paulinischen Pneumatologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 162–76.

[46] E.g., Peter Stuhlmacher, "Erwägungen zum ontologischen Charakter der καινή κτίσις bei Paulus," *Evangelische Theologie* 27 (1967): 1–35; see also the discussion in Rabens, *Ethics*, 5–12, esp. 10n45 (discussing the development of the pneumatology of Käsemann and Stuhlmacher away from an emphasis on substance ontology and more toward the direction of sacramental presence).

[47] E.g., Matthew Thiessen, *Paul and the Gentile Problem* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 129–60.

[48] Aristotle, *De Spiritu* 1.481a; LCL 486. On Aristotle's view of *pneuma* in particular, see Gad Freudenthal, *Soul, Vital Heat, and Connate Pneuma* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Sylvia Berryman, "Aristotle on Pneuma and Animal Self-Motion," *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy* 23 (2002): 85–97; W. Jaeger, "Das Pneuma im Lykeion," *Hermes* 48, no. 1 (1913): 29–74.

[49] E.g., Hippocrates, *On Generation* (elaborating his *pangenetic* theory of semen, sexual generation, and the role of *pneuma* and water in semen). See also the helpful commentary of Iain M. Lonie concerning *On Generation* in *The Hippocratic Treatises "On Generation," "On the Nature of the Child," "Diseases IV,"* ed. Gerhard Baader, Fridolf Kudlien, Charles Lichtenthaeler, and Klaus D. Fischer (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1981); also Robertson, "De-Spiritualizing Pneuma," 373–75; and Michael Boylan, "The Galenic and Hippocratic Challenges to Aristotle's Conception Theory," *Journal of the History of Biology* 17 (1984): 83–112.

the skin and oro-nasal cavities.[50] The Stoics, as will be shown, rely heavily on the corporeal nature of *pneuma* in order to account for their cosmological-theological account of Nature, Fate, and the interrelationship of living matter with divine reason. In a different context, *pneuma* can be described in terms of a "solid spirit" or as a "fire bright spirit" in the magical texts, indicative of the way *pneuma* was understood in agrestic contexts where popular folk belief was a strong feature of life.[51]

The *pneuma* associated with the oracle at Delphi has also been understood to convey some modicum of materiality, often described by those familiar with the site as a "holy gas" or vapor that arises from the chasm underneath the Pythia channeling prophetic inspiration.[52] Plutarch (ca. 46–120 CE), a former priest at Delphi, likewise describes a *mantic pneuma* (μαντικὸν πνεῦμα) which can enter the Pythia by way of a decisively material medium.[53] Terence Paige notes that the way Plutarch speaks of the "prophetic stream and

[50] See, e.g., Annette Weissenrieder, "The Infusion of the Spirit: The Meaning of Ἐμφυσάω in John 20:22–23," in *The Holy Spirit, Inspiration, and the Cultures of Antiquity: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Jörg Frey and John R. Levison (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 119–52; and Martin, "Pneumatological Statements."

[51] E.g., Eleni Pachoumi, "Divine Epiphanies of Paredroi in the *Greek Magical Papyri*," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 51, no. 1 (2011): 155–65 (discussing some of the occurrences of *pneuma* in the magical texts). On the prevalence of magic and folk belief in Pauline communities, see Clinton E. Arnold, *The Colossian Syncretism: The Interface between Christianity and Folk Belief at Colossae* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995) and "'I Am Astonished That You Are So Quickly Turning Away!' (Gal 1.6): Paul and Anatolian Folk Belief," *NTS* 51, no. 3 (2005): 429–49.

[52] Cicero (106–43 BCE) reports "vapors" or "exhalations" which emanate from a crevice under the oracle, and even attributes a decrease in oracular activity to "differences in the earth's exhalations [*ex caeli varietate et ex disparili aspiratione terrarum*]." *De Divinatione* 1.79; also Terence Paige, "Who Believes in 'Spirit'? Πνεῦμα in Pagan Usage and Implications for the Gentile Christian Mission," *HTR* 95, no. 4 (2002): 427–28 (canvassing literary uses of *pneuma* in pagan contexts including the Delphic Oracle).

[53] *Def. orac.* 432D. Paige notes, however, that there is no evidence that the *pneuma* inspired any "ecstatic condition" or "glossolalia" at Delphi. On the contrary, Plutarch reports that any bizarre actions from the Pythia (whether in voice or manner) signaled that something had gone wrong. See Paige, "Πνεῦμα," 429; Plutarch, *Def. orac.* 438a–b.

vapor" (μαντικὸν ῥεῦμα καὶ πνεῦμα) emanating from the springs of the earth assumes a distinct materiality which was firmly anchored to the sacred site.[54]

The case for a material spirit is harder to make in Jewish biblical and extrabiblical literature. Wisdom of Solomon and Philo's writings, which are both redolent with Stoic influence, support the claim for corporeality, although it is important to recognize how carefully this imagery is handled.[55] Consequently, most similar to an all-encompassing *pneuma* that is crucial to the cohesive structure of Stoic cosmology, Wisdom speaks of a "spirit of the Lord [that] fills the world and holds all things together" (Wis 1:7). Nevertheless, Philo's own criticism of Stoicism in favor of the Mosaic view, amplified as it is with his finely grained theological reflection on divinity, provides more complexity to how *pneuma* is understood.[56] Philo maintained an insistence on the distinction between God and humanity and with this, an insistence on the immaterial nature of the divine.[57] As *pneuma* is the essence of the divine, Philo can and does describe both God and *pneuma* somewhat interchangeably.[58] While *pneuma* can be described in terms of a *substance* (e.g., *Gig.* 22, 67), it is *incorporeal substance* (ἀσώματος οὐσία) (*Opif.* 29; *QG* 1.94). Likewise for Josephus, his

[54] Paige, "Πνεῦμα," 428; see also Hans Josef Klauck, *The Religious Context of Early Christianity: A Guide to Graeco-Roman Religions* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 188 (affirming the material quality of *pneuma* at Delphi). Importantly, other oracular sites featured ritual practice that involved the ingesting or application of natural elements of the site. At the oracle of Apollo in Didyma the priestess dipped her feet in the sacred spring, from where she breathed vapors while waving a laurel branch. Pausanias, *Descr.* 2.24.1; Paige, "Πνεῦμα," 429 (providing additional examples such as ritual drinking of water from a sacred spring at Claros or drinking the blood of a lamb at Argos).

[55] On the Stoic (among other Hellenistic) influences on Philo and Wisdom, see, e.g., Verbeke, *L'évolution de la doctrine du Pneuma*, 223–60; see also the discussion of Engberg-Pedersen, *Cosmology and Self*, 9–26; and Levison, *Filled*, 142–50.

[56] Philo distinguishes himself from the Stoics in particular and their view of the world itself as a living being of which human souls are a fragment. See *Plant.* 18; cf. Diog. Laert. 7.143; see the discussion in Levison, *Filled*, 147–48.

[57] Rabens, *Ethics*, 73, citing Isaacs, *Concept of Spirit*, 19, 30, 44.

[58] Rabens, *Ethics*, 73 (*Plant.* 18; *Leg.* 2.2; *Deus.* 56; *Gig.* 26–27); also Verbeke, *L'évolution de la doctrine du Pneuma*, 245–47, 256–59 (contending that Philo regarded God's Spirit as divine).

use of *pneuma* reveals a careful distinction with other types of *spirit* (such as an evil spirit or a lying spirit, for which he uses the term δάιμων and its cognates). Josephus seeks to ensure that *pneuma* consistently relates back to the Lord and his good gifts.[59]

With all of this taken into account, what tends to be more distinctive among Jewish extrabiblical texts, following the imagery of the Jewish Scriptures, is less of an insistence on the materiality of *pneuma* as such and more of an accent on the interplay of the "wind" or "spirit" of God with more substantive media such as water or oil through which the spirit can be perceived or applied.[60] For example, in the pivotal moment of *Joseph and Aseneth*,[61] Aseneth receives a honeycomb "full of the spirit of life [ἡ πνοὴ ζωῆς]" as a symbol of her conversion; as a consequence she is pronounced as having "eaten bread of life, and [drinking] a cup of immortality, and [being] anointed with ointment of incorruptibility" (Jos. Asen. 16.7–9).[62] From this, several scholars have concluded that, consistent with Stoic theology, *pneuma* was assumed to be material or "körperlich-substanzhaft" (per Sänger),[63] and was transmitted substantially, even sacramentally (per Horn)[64]

[59] *Ant.* 6.211; see also Isaacs, *Concept of Spirit*, 33–34. The reference of 1 Sam 19:9 to "an evil spirit of God" (πνεῦμα θεοῦ πονηρὸν) was recast as τὸ δαιμόνιαν πνεῦμα, consciously removing any reference and hence association of an evil *pneuma* with God. Cf. Best, "Pneuma," 225.

[60] On the joining of *pneuma* with materials (*Hilfstoffe*), see notably Horn, *Das Angeld des Geistes*, 43–59; also Otto Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1960), 130–31.

[61] Whereas in earlier studies it was widely accepted that Aseneth was a Jewish composition written in Egypt between the second century BCE and first century CE, recent investigations lead to an array of competing ideas. See most recently Jill Hicks-Keeton, *Arguing with Aseneth: Gentile Access to Israel's Living God in Jewish Antiquity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 22–29 (arguing that the either/or propositions between Jewish and Christian origins in recent proposals trade on the misunderstanding that these traditions are not mutually overlapping sources that are able to influence the final form of the work).

[62] See the discussion of Aseneth in Rabens, *Ethics*, 63–67; also Moyer Hubbard, "Honey for Aseneth: Interpreting a Religious Symbol," *JSP* 8, no. 16 (1997): 97–110.

[63] Dieter Sanger, *Antikes Judentum und die Mysterien* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1980), 196.

[64] Horn, *Das Angeld des Geistes*, 57 (citing Friedrich Preisigke, *Die Gotteskraft der frühchristlichen Zeit* [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1922], 29–30).

through the bread and drink (8.5, 11) and through the honeycomb (16.4). The reference to *spirit* in the narrative might suggest a relatively important role that *spirit* plays in the reception of the honey, but closer inspection of the text does not necessarily support such a finding. What is prominent is not the presence of *spirit* itself, but the motif of new birth (new creation), the reception of honey serving as one more symbol among a series of others portraying her conversion and initiation into new life. Honey was regarded as a heavenly form of food, and it was common practice in antiquity for newborns to receive it even before receiving the mother's milk.[65] Hence, honey and the breath of life as symbols of new birth arise to the fore, rather than the consumption of *spirit* as such.

2.1.5. The Liquid Spirit (Water and Oil)

Similar considerations are present in the relationship with spirit and water. Water is a prominent means by which God's spirit (רוח) is administered in the Hebrew Bible. In Isaiah 44:3 one finds the promise that God "will pour out water on the thirsty land" with the parallel pronouncement that he will "pour out [his] Spirit on your offspring and [his] blessing on your descendants."[66] The prophetic promise that God will place his *ruach* within his people is paired with the promise that "I will sprinkle clean water on you, and you shall be clean" (Ezek 36:25–27). Behind such prophetic images is a long tradition of depicting "spirit" in terms of something that can be poured[67] or in terms of portions capable of dividing and sharing.[68] Similarly,

[65] Honey, while undoubtedly evocative of the biblical description of *manna* (Exod 16:31), was known in antiquity to signify new birth. On this, see Hubbard, "Honey for Aseneth," 110; also Véronique Dasen, "Childbirth and Infancy in Greek and Roman Antiquity," in *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, ed. Beryl Rawson (Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 303 ([In antiquity, before receiving the mother's milk,] "the newborn just gets honey boiled in water, a special food with heavenly connotations").

[66] Also Joel 2:28 ("I will pour out [שׁפך] my spirit on all flesh"); Zech 12:10. The links in Isaiah 44 between "spirit" on the one hand with "seed [descendants]" and "blessing" on the other is interesting for it evokes the "spirit" with the Abrahamic promise of blessing to the seed of Abraham which is a collocation we find in Galatians 3.

[67] Isa 19:14; 29:10; 32:15.

[68] 2 Kgs 2:9; Mal 2:15; also Num 11:16–30.

in the account of David's anointing, Samuel took the horn of oil and anointed him and "the Spirit of the LORD rushed [תצלח] upon David from that day forward" (1 Sam 16:13).[69] This image is taken up in Isaiah 61:1, which declares, "the Spirit of the LORD God is upon me because the LORD has anointed me to bring good news to the poor."[70] These biblical illustrations of "spirit" with liquid imagery fund the images found in the Jewish extrabiblical literature leading up to and within the Second Temple period. For example, the Qumran literature adopts similar imagery of the "spirit" in terms that can be sprinkled, spread, or poured out.[71] Likewise the New Testament conveys similar images that pair water and spirit.[72]

What should be highlighted in the above discussion is not merely the *Spirit*'s actual materiality, but more importantly the ascertainable interplay between material and pneumatic media in portraying the reception of the spirit in Jewish texts. The remarks from Timmers on Philonic pneumatology are helpful in naming this mode of conveying spirit in Jewish texts: "The dichotomy between material-immaterial is of little use for understanding Philo's view on *pneuma*. In each successive manifestation of *pneuma*, immaterial categories and tangible matter can be seen to interact with each other, as two sides of one coin."[73] I venture that what Timmers finds true of Philo aids our understanding of Jewish dynamics for receiving the Spirit by means of substantive media. The Spirit in these texts energizes a way of describing divine activity upon creation and specifically upon anointed persons. Understood this way, *pneuma* names an ineffable power which can

[69] This event may be what is referred to in the entreaty of Ps 51:11—"take not your Holy Spirit from me." The language of anointing [משחה] with oil is very often collocated with consecration or making holy [קדש] for the dedication of persons or tabernacle items in service to God. E.g., Exod 30:30; Lev 8:12; 21:12.

[70] Cf. Acts 10:38 ("God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Spirit and with power"); also Luke 4:18.

[71] E.g., 1QH^a 4.26; 15.6–8; 1QS 3.3–9.

[72] E.g., John 3:5 ("born of water and spirit"); Acts 8:39; John 7:37–39 (the living water identified as "the Spirit"); 1 Cor 12:13 (being watered by or being made to drink of "one Spirit"); Eph 5:18 (getting drunk on wine juxtaposed with filling with the "Spirit"); 1 John 5:8 ("the Spirit and the water and the blood").

[73] Timmers, "Philo of Alexandria's Understanding of Πνεῦμα," 268–69.

be appreciated for its exteriority—more precisely, the external and observable effects of an internally operative reality.

2.1.6. Conclusion

Our overview, while brief at points, has been structured to serve our comparative discussion by drawing out some of the larger controlling ideas shaping the primary texts. Furthermore, by analyzing the various corpora in their broader aims and contexts, we are now better situated to let the various texts speak to one another without appearing to simply trawl through the text in search of parallels or using these texts to establish a prolegomenon for Pauline pneumatology. In the remaining sections, we will proceed through the texts with an eye toward developing the principal ideas of the thesis pertaining to the spirit in ancient Jewish literature: first, the association of spirit and divinity, and second, the relationship of both spirit and divinity with the important concept of oneness and unity.

2.2. The Spirit and Divinity in Biblical and Extrabiblical Jewish Literature

By the time of the New Testament writings, Spirit discourse clearly serves as a locution to denote God's special presence with his people. Such a connection, however, is far from univocal in the Jewish Scriptures, where one finds a wide range of images and experiences of the Spirit that span the range of divine, anthropomorphic, and natural phenomena. Nevertheless, as the textual traditions unfold through time, the steps toward a discernible association of the Spirit with God's epiphanic presence can be observed—a connection that becomes further pronounced in later Jewish literature such that by Josephus, the *pneuma* is that which signifies God's presence in the temple.

2.2.1. Creation and Life

It remains a matter of debate whether in the Genesis account of creation, it is "the spirit of God" (רוח אלהים) that hovers over the primordial waters (Gen 1:2).[74] What can be established firmly, however,

[74] Among those favoring a translation of "spirit" over against a "mighty wind," see in particular Neve, *Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 65; Michael P. Deroche, "The *Rûah ʿelōhîm* in Gen 1:2c: Creation or Chaos?" in *Ascribe*

is the association between *spirit* and the breath of life that is imparted to man as a living being. We learn from the terminology of Genesis 2:7, "breath" (נשמה), Genesis 6:3, "ruach | spirit" (רוח), and the conflated Genesis 7:22 (נשמה רוח) that there is relational pairing of "breath" and "spirit" that names the "spirit of life" principle that God bestowed upon humanity in creation.[75] In Numbers, God is deemed "the Lord [יהוה] God of the spirits of all flesh" (Num 27:16). This creation motif of the "spirit of life" generates further reflection in the Ezekiel material, most saliently in the Dry Bones passage (Ezek 37:1–14), where it is the spirit (רוח) that brings life in terms evocative of the creation narrative.[76] Likewise, Isaiah evokes creation and re-creation by portraying dry and barren lands being restored by the pouring out of the spirit.[77]

The relationship between God's Spirit and creation develops further in the Jewish literature of the Second Temple period. "Let all your creatures serve you," Judith exclaims, "for you spoke and they were made. You sent forth your spirit and it formed them" (Jud 16.14). Likewise, Aseneth prays, "O Lord [Κύριε] who gave to all the breath of life . . . who has raised up the heaven and founded the

to the Lord: Biblical and Other Essays in Memory of Peter C. Craigie, ed. Lyle Eslinger (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2009), 303–18; Wilf Hildebrandt, *An Old Testament Theology of the Spirit of God* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1993), 30–37; Bruce K. Waltke, "Creation Account in Genesis 1:1–3," *BSac* 132, no. 528 (1975): 333; among those opting for "wind," see, e.g., J. M. Powis Smith, "The Syntax and Meaning of Genesis 1:1–3," *AJSLL* 44, no. 2 (1928): 108–15; Gerhard von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox, 1973), 107–8; and H. M. Orlinsky, "The Plain Meaning of *Rûach* in Genesis 1:2," *JQR* 48, no 2 (1957): 174–82. Philo believes that it is indeed God's Spirit that moves upon the face of the waters as opposed to a natural wind. Cf. *Leg.* 1.33.

[75] On the motif of "creation and spirit" more broadly, see John W. Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 25.

[76] See also Ezek 36:26–35 (where the "spirit" brings about renewal with creation and Edenic imagery). On the "spirit" and its use in Ezekiel, see Block, "Prophet of the Spirit."

[77] Isa 32:1–8 and 44:1–5. See Job 26:13 ("By his רוח the heavens were made fair"); see also Job 33:4 and 34:14–15 (emphasizing the gift and withdrawal of רוח signifying life and death); also Ps 33:6 and 104:29–30.

earth" (Jos. Asen. 12.1–3).[78] We find in 2 Baruch that God's "spirit is the creator of life" (2 Bar. 23.5), who has "made firm the height of the heaven by the spirit, who has called from the beginning of the world that which did not yet exist" (2 Bar. 21.4).[79] The Qumran community also connects the divine creative work with the activity of the Holy Spirit.[80]

But it is Philo, above the rest, who gives the creative power of *pneuma* pride of place.[81] Perhaps partly due to the influence Stoic thinkers had on Philo, the *pneuma* becomes a central determiner shaping his many reflections on God's creation and re-creative activity on the world.[82] "For man was not created out of the earth alone," writes Philo, "but also of divine Spirit" (*QG* 1.51). Philo, in line with Stoic pneumatology, invests *pneuma* with an intelligent organizing quality which thus determines the formation and constitution of the created order.[83] So, commenting on Genesis 1:2, "the spirit of God" (τὸ τοῦ θείου πνεῦμα) is that "by which all things are made secure . . .

[78] On the pairing of "spirit" and "life" in the Second Temple literature, see also Sib. Or. 4.46; Jos. Asen. 12.2; 16.4; 2 Macc 7.22–23; 14:46; Apoc. Mos. 43.5; also T. Jud. 24.2.

[79] A similar idea is found in Sir 16:24–26 ("I will pour out my spirit by weight, and by measure will I declare my knowledge. When God created His works from the beginning, after making them, he assigned them portions").

[80] E.g., 4Q422, 7 ("his work which he had done, and [his] Holy Spirit"); also 4Q22, 5; 4Q509, 97–98. See also the discussion by Andrew D. Pitts and Seth Pollinger in "The Spirit in Second Temple Jewish Monotheism and the Origins of Early Christology," in *Christian Origins and Hellenistic Judaism: Social and Literary Contexts for the New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 2:158.

[81] On the subject of Philo and his writings on creation, see the study by Jonathan D. Worthington, *Creation in Paul and Philo: The Beginning and Before* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011).

[82] On Stoic influences on Philo's cosmology, see, e.g., Anthony A. Long, "Philo on Stoic Physics," in *Philo of Alexandria and Post-Aristotelian Philosophy*, ed. Francesca Alesse (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 121–40; and Roberto Radice, "Philo and Stoic Ethics: Reflections on the Idea of Freedom," in *Philo of Alexandria and Post-Aristotelian Philosophy*, ed. Francesca Alesse (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 141–68; also Wis 1:7 ("The spirit of the Lord has filled the world") and Wis 7:22 (deeming the "spirit of wisdom" [πνεῦμα σοφία] to be "the fashioner of all things").

[83] E.g., *Gig.* 22–23, 27. On the relationship of *pneuma* and "wisdom" in connection with the creation motif in Philo, see Pitts and Pollinger, "Spirit in

and of those things which are in the air and are in all mixtures of plants and animals" (*QG* 2.28). Philo considers *pneuma* to be the divine reasoning principle by which God and the world is rendered able to interrelate. Because of this reasoning in Philo, Isaacs remarks that "creation is viewed by Philo, not only as an event in the past, but as a continuous activity."[84]

2.2.2. The Exodus Theophanies of Cloud and Fire

The founding narratives of Israel are filled with iconic symbols of God's leading presence. In the Exodus stories in particular these include the pillar of cloud and fire, the cloud of God's presence, the face of God's presence, and the angel of the presence.[85] Notably, the Pentateuch does not identify these theophanic symbols with *ruach*.[86] But we know that later texts (including Paul) do precisely this—that is, they connect the symbols of God's leading presence with the "Spirit of the LORD."[87] One notable example can be found in Isaiah 63:9–14:[88]

> In all their affliction he was afflicted, *and the angel of his presence* saved them.[89]

Second Temple Jewish Monotheism," 2:155–58; also Levison, *Spirit in First-Century*, 151–58.

[84] Isaacs, *Concept of Spirit*, 44.

[85] Cf. Exod 13:20; 14:1; 16:10; 23:20–24; 33:4–8, 12–14; 40:34–38.

[86] E.g., Neve, *Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 73–74.

[87] For Paul, see 2 Cor 3:15–18, linking the glory of the Lord with the Spirit. There is also good reason to view 1 Cor 10:1–4, with its references to baptism in the cloud and baptism into Moses, as functioning in parallel with baptism in one Spirit into one body, Christ (1 Cor 12:12–13) (see § 4.3.4; 5.1.2). Romans 8:14–16 similarly describes God's sons in terms of those who are "led by the Spirit of God" in the context of "slavery," which may itself invoke Exodus imagery for this reconstituted family of God.

[88] See John R. Levison, *The Holy Spirit before Christianity* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2019); also John R. Levison, "The Spirit in Its Second Temple Context: An Exegetical Analysis of the Pneumatology of N. T. Wright," in *God and the Faithfulness of Paul: A Critical Examination of the Pauline Theology of N. T. Wright*, ed. Michael F. Bird, Christoph Heilig, and J. Thomas Hewitt (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 439–62.

[89] The NRSV translates this as "It was no messenger or angel, but his presence that saved them," which follows the Greek translation. With Levison, I find the translation "angel of his presence" to comport better with the remainder of

> But they rebelled and grieved his Holy Spirit;
> therefore he became their enemy; he himself fought against them.
> Then they remembered the days of old, of Moses his servant.
> Where is the one who brought them up out of the sea with the shepherds of his flock?
> Where is the one who put within them his holy spirit?
> Who caused his glorious arm to march at the right hand of Moses,
> Who divided the waters before them, . . . Who led them through the depths?
> The spirit of the LORD gave them rest.
> Thus you led your people, to make yourself a glorious name.

While we find no indication in the Pentateuch that the symbols of God's presence could be so naturally connected with God's Spirit, Levison has argued that the exilic pressures that forged this Isaianic text occasioned the need for a reinterpretation of the Exodus events to reprise on their own current horizon—this time in terms of the leading of God's Spirit.[90]

Haggai 2:3–5 reflects the same phenomenon:[91]

> Who is left among you that saw this house in its former glory? How does it look to you now? Is it not in your sight as nothing? Yet take courage, O Zerubbabel, says the LORD; take courage, O Joshua, son of Jehozadak, the high priest; take courage, all you people of the land, says the LORD; work, for I am with you, says the LORD of hosts, according to the promise that I made you when you came out of Egypt. My spirit [stands] among you; do not fear.

As with Isaiah 64, the invocation of Exodus imagery occasioned by the disillusionment of Israel's troubles is evident in the Haggai passage as well. Levison urges that the emphasis on the Spirit's standing [עצר] is unique in the Hebrew Bible, but owes its imagery here

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the text's Exodus imagery (despite the concession that the phrase is not attested elsewhere). See the discussion in Levison, *Holy Spirit before Christianity*, 32–37.

[90] Levison, *Holy Spirit before Christianity*, 43–53.

[91] Levison, *Holy Spirit before Christianity*, 74–83.

to the Red Sea narrative, where "the angel of God who was going before the Israelite army moved and went behind them; and the pillar of cloud moved from in front of them and *stood* behind them" (Exod 14:19–20). In both instances, the Exodus symbols of God's presence are retrieved and recharacterized as *pneuma* to produce fresh symbols of hope in the current distress of the communities producing these texts.

2.2.3. Glory

The relationship between "spirit" and the "glory" of YHWH is an important one to trace in the LXX. We know from 2 Corinthians 3:18 that for Paul, "spirit" and "glory" bear a close relationship. We also know from Paul's letters that "spirit" and "glory" are among a narrow field of words that can stand in a genitive relationship with both God and Christ, which can serve to "sign the presence of God."[92] In the Hebrew Bible, the interplay of God's cloud and glory appears at the tent of meeting (אהל מועד), the tabernacle, and temple (e.g., Exod 33:7–18; 40:36–38; Num 16:42; 1 Kgs 8:3–13) and forms a recurring set of images that signify the center of Israel's cultic complex. The crowning moment of King Solomon's dedication of the temple is that "a cloud filled the house of the Lord so that the priests could not stand to minister because of the cloud, for the glory of the Lord filled the house of the Lord" (1 Kgs 8:10–11).

Importantly, the latter prophets reflect a development which begins to identify "spirit" with this temple presence of God's glory. We already noted that Haggai 2:1–9 includes the promise that God's "spirit remains [stands] in [Israel's] midst" (v. 5) and God "will fill this house with glory" (v. 7). But it is in Ezekiel where this pairing finds its preeminent expression.[93] There are significant occurrences of

[92] Cf. Carey C. Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology: Tradition and Rhetoric* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 163 (also identifying "power," "word," "gospel," and "presence" as related words in Pauline usage that signify divine presence).

[93] Cf. De Vries, "Glory and Spirit 1"; the study is continued in Pieter de Vries, "The Relationship between the Glory of YHWH and the Spirit of YHWH in Ezekiel 33–48, Part 2," *Old Testament Essays* 28, no. 2 (2015): 326–50; see also John T. Strong, "God's *Kābôd*: The Presence of Yahweh in the Book of Ezekiel,"

רוח in Ezekiel that consistently relate with the apprehension of the glory of YHWH (i.e., Ezek 1–3, 8–11, 36–39, and 40–48).[94] Ezekiel underscores the special relationship between the Spirit and the glory of YHWH by reserving the divine visions of the glory of YHWH only when the prophet is described as lifted up (נשא) in the Spirit (Ezek 3:12, 14; 8:3; 11:1, 24; 43:5). "The Spirit lifted me up," reports the prophet, "and brought me into the inner court; and behold, the glory of the LORD filled the temple" (Ezek 43:5).[95] Importantly, in Ezekiel 8:7–16, the movements of the prophet (lifting up) are shifted from a feminine to the masculine forms of the verb to agree with the agent of the prophet's movement—not the "spirit of YHWH" but rather the "glory of the God of Israel [כבוד אלהי ישראל]." De Vries contends that the experience of Ezekiel's viewing the glory by the "spirit" of the LORD becomes paradigmatic for Israel, upon whom God will pour out his "spirit" as a prerequisite for the return of God's glory with Israel in their restoration.[96]

Following the trajectory of the prophets, the intertestamental Jewish literature further establishes the associative connection between the Spirit and God's temple presence.[97] A dramatic example of this comes from Josephus and his account of Solomon's temple dedication speech, where he inserts a new reference to *pneuma* even though the original makes no reference to *ruach* (רוח): "I humbly beseech thee, that thou wilt let some portion of thy Spirit come down and inhabit in this temple, that thou mayest appear to be with us upon earth" (*Ant.* 8.114; cf. 1 Kgs 8:29; 2 Chr 6:20). Given that Josephus follows the Bible's understanding of the temple as the place where God dwells, "Spirit" should best be understood here as a circumlocution for God.[98] Consistent with this, later rabbinic commentary

in *The Book of Ezekiel: Theological and Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. Margaret S. Odell and John T. Strong (Atlanta: SBL, 2000), 69–95.

94 De Vries, "Glory and Spirit 1," 113.

95 Note that in the Valley of Dry Bones passage, where the glory of the LORD is not perceived, the "spirit" is said to have "brought out" (יצא) the prophet rather than being lifted up (Ezek 37:1).

96 De Vries, "Glory and Spirit 2," 347.

97 E.g., LAB 18.10; Apoc. Zeph. 1; Apoc. Sedr. 1.18.

98 Cf. Isaacs, *Concept of Spirit*, 26.

can pair *shekinah* (presence) with "Holy Spirit" without any apparent difference in meaning.[99]

Of significant importance is the fact that Josephus inserts the reference to the dwelling Spirit precisely in the place where the underlying Greek translations make a reference to the eyes of God (τοῦ εἶναι ὀφθαλμούς σου ἠνεῳγμένους εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον) (1 Kgs 8:29). There is an identifiable practice in LXX translations to create a degree of distance with references made to the dwelling (שׁכן) of God when the term occurs in the MT—preferring to translate שׁכן in terms of the place of God's invocation (ἐπικληθήσομαι) (Exod 29:45–46), or in terms of the place God may be seen (ὀφθήσομαι) (Exod 25:8–9).[100] In Domenico Lo Sardo's estimation of the Greek and Hebrew texts, he observes a calculated avoidance of describing God's *dwelling* (שׁכן) among Israel, most likely out of some form of theological anxiety in articulating an excessive closeness to the divine presence.[101] What we find in Josephus' *pneuma* reference with respect to the temple may reflect his interaction with this tradition of addressing God's dwelling in terms of the eyes of God or the beholding of God.[102]

[99] E.g., Mek. Beshallah 2 (on Exod 14:13); Jer. Sukkah 55a; Šabb. 30b; see also Best, "Pneuma," 223; Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries*, 437. Best speculates that *shekinah* would be a much more problematic idea to translate for the readers of Josephus; furthermore, the resonances with Stoic pneumatology as sharing the material of heaven and earth might help communicate the idea of a "portion of Thy Spirit" which fills heaven but is also manifest in the earthly temple (223).

[100] But see Lev 9:6, where the LXX indicates that "you will see the glory of the Lord" and the MT agrees, indicating the verb in terms of seeing or beholding God's glory: וירא אליכם כבוד יהוה. On whether this constitutes textual or literary criticism on the part of the translators, see Domenico Lo Sardo, "Ex 25:8–9 MT-LXX: Textual Differences or Different Hermeneutics? The Divine Dwelling on the Mountain and/or in a Sanctuary," *LASBF* 69 (2019): 79–98.

[101] Lo Sardo, "Divine Dwelling," 95 ("The evidence leaves no doubt about the distance from the Greek text to the Hebrew understanding about the modality of the divine presence dwelling. . . . The Hebrew verb שׁכן expresses far more as YHWH decides to make itself near or present among his people and therefore the choice implies a theological understanding of God himself. LXX prefers to remain on the doorstep of the sanctuary, meaning the liturgical dimension and there to be able to invoke YHWH, but without going beyond the allowed, because God is and remains ὁ ὤν").

[102] Cf. Rev 7:17, where "the seven spirits of God sent out into all the earth" is identified with the "seven eyes" of the Lamb.

2.3. The Spirit of Divine Attributes in Qumran

As was briefly mentioned in the earlier section concerning the "spirit" passages in the texts associated with the community at Qumran,[103] there is a propensity beginning with the Jewish biblical and extrabiblical literature to use spirit as a way of naming particular attributes (even divinely imparted attributes) among persons—most commonly, a "spirit of wisdom." Isaiah 11:2 represents this characteristic of spirit language well: "The spirit of the LORD shall rest on him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the LORD." The OT occurrences of this manner of speaking of the spirit are infrequent compared with the density of this type of language in the Dead Sea Scrolls.[104]

In this body of literature, references to the "spirit" can often refer to the "Spirit of God" as much as it can a "sanctified human disposition," among other options.[105] An important example for this phenomena is the Treatise on the Two Spirits (1QS 3.13–4:26), where God appoints two spirits (initially designated as "truth and falsehood") which exert their influence upon the world.[106] These two spirits were created by God to form "the cornerstone of every deed, their impulses the premise of every action" (1QS 3.25–26). While an

[103] See § 2.1.3.

[104] We might also point to its occasional use in the writings of both Philo and Josephus. For Philo, see, e.g., *Gig.* 23 (referring to Bezalel and how God "filled him with his Holy Spirit, and with wisdom, and understanding, and knowledge to be able to devise every work") and *Gig.* 47 ("divine spirit of wisdom" [σοφίας πνεῦμα θεῖον]); for Josephus, e.g., *Ant.* 10.238 (10.11.3) (expounding on Daniel's fullness of the "divine spirit" accompanied by wisdom).

[105] Cf. Sekki, *Meaning of Ruaḥ at Qumran*, 207; Émile Puech, "L'esprit saint à Qumran," *Liber Annuum* 49 (1999): 283–97.

[106] On the tradition history of the *Treatise*, see Charlotte Hempel, "The Treatise on the Two Spirits and the Literary History of the Rule of the Community," in *Dualism in Qumran*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 102–20. Conceptually, there is a tension that scholars have identified between the "Spirit of Truth" of 1QS 3 and the eschatological "holy spirit" in 1QS 4.20–23: the former described as primordial and directive over the Sons of Light and the latter as that which purifies and reveals wisdom to the community. Frey concludes that the Two Spirits Treatise should be best understood as an "independent . . . sapiental passage of pre-sectarian origin which was incorporated into the manuscript 1QS." Frey, "View of the Spirit," 250–51.

angel of darkness allies with dark spirits to "cause the Sons of Light to stumble" (1QS 3.24), "God and the Angel of his Truth" assist all the sons of Light (1QS 3.24–25). This spirit of truth engenders "humility, patience . . . and powerful wisdom resonating to each of God's deeds" (1QS 4.2–4). Conversely, the "spirit of falsehood" works to result in all manner of wickedness, neglect of righteousness, lying, and other forms of error (1QS 4.9–26). "God has appointed these spirits as equals until the time of decree and renewal," and they are to exercise "dominion over humanity, so imparting knowledge of good and evil" according to the "measure of which spirit predominates in the person" (1QS 4.25–26).

The angelic reality behind these spirits is confirmed in the type of cosmological angelology that pervades the War Scroll. The Scroll opens with this very register: "The beginning of the dominion of the Sons of Light shall be undertaken against the forces of the Sons of Darkness, the army of Belial."[107] Similar features are also observed in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, which entail a rich pattern of angelology and macrocosmic temple motifs.[108] Importantly, while the personified reality of the spirits can be identified in these texts, even in terms of "dominion" over the hearts of people, we do not find an articulated sense of ecstatic or mantic forms of prophecy induced by the spirit that we find in other Hellenistic Jewish texts. The power of the *spirits* is on the level of influence and manifests itself in communal life patterns.[109]

[107] 1QM 1:1; 3:1ff.

[108] See Carol Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 23–38; James R. Davila, "The Macrocosmic Temple, Scriptural Exegesis, and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," *DSD* 9 (2002): 1–19.

[109] The sectarian texts also emphasize the revelatory aspect of the spirit in revealing wisdom to the community. See Frey, "View of the Spirit," 256, 259–60; cf. Philip S. Alexander, "The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. Peter Flint and James C. Vanderkam (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 331–53. This is in stark contrast to the accounts of prophetic activity generated by *pneuma* in the texts of Hellenistic Judaism, where the divine spirit (τοῦ θείου πνεύματος) can be described in terms of evicting the mind and producing the prophetic speech accompanied with the phenomena of ecstasy and inspired frenzy. Philo, *Her.* 264–65; also *Spec.* 4.49; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.118; 6.222. On the phenomena of ecstatic prophecy in Hellenistic Judaism, see Levison, "Debut of the Divine Spirit"; also the discussion in

Unlike the Two Spirits Treatise, the *Hodayot* lacks a similar ordering principle of active spirits influencing others, but nevertheless abounds in references to spirits of particular inner dispositions. "You have favored me with the spirit of knowledge," the petitioner prays (1QH^a 6.36). A "spirit of your compassion" and a "spirit of the righteous" (1) (רוח צדיקQH^a 27 and 28) can also be found. As in the Treatise of the Two Spirits, the spirits can also be negatively presented. Hence there are references to a "spirit of error" (1QH^a 8.24) or a "spirit of staggering" (1QH^a 15.8).[110] This piling on of various dispositions and virtues (or vices) strung together in diverse arrangements is a distinct feature of the sectarian texts.[111] Newsom recognizes in this syntactical tendency something quite important to the logic of these texts concerning the larger, interconnected patterns of behavior the community seeks to establish. Her comments deserve being quoted in full:

> Even at the level of syntax the passage [of the Two Spirits] claims that one cannot really know one thing without knowing many other things and their relationships. Things are joined together in webs of significance. If one wants to know about human character or why the righteous sin, one has to know about the plan of God for all of creation from beginning to end. If one wants to know about the eternal destiny of humankind, one will inevitably find one's self attending to concrete details of human behavior, to acts of patience or greed.[112]

Clint Tibbs, *Religious Experience of the Pneuma: Communication with the Spirit World in 1 Corinthians 12 and 14* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 113–44.

[110] Other fragmentary occurrences throughout the corpus are harder to reconstruct with confidence. But see 4Q230 f1.2 ("spirit of insolence"); 4Q230 f1.3 ("spirit of contempt"); 4Q257 5.7 ("spirit of falsehood"); 4Q269 f10ii.2 ("spirit of humility"); 4Q444 f14i+5.3 ("spirit of knowledge and understanding"); 4Q510 f1.6 ("spirit of understanding").

[111] This is a feature shared with Pauline discourse. For example, Paul talks of a "suffering that produces endurance, and endurance produces character, and character produces hope" (Rom 5:3–4) and similarly the "law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus [that sets people free] from the law of sin and death" (Rom 8:2).

[112] Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 80.

Newsom's comments on the "concrete details of human behavior" and the interrelated nature of their ideas touch on something that is quite important in the logic of spirit discourse in Qumran. What is emphasized is not prophetic speech, nor charismatic actions, but rather a purifying spirit (which is decidedly eschatological in nature), which reveals the true nature of the law for the community and is prevailed upon to assist the community to live in discernible patterns of righteous living. Jörg Frey observes that the "spirit reveals God's will, wisdom, and plan; that acts verbally and leads to a bodily life in accord with the insight gained. The spirit inserts into the community."[113]

2.4. Oneness, "Monotheism," and *Pneuma*

Because "oneness" forms the other half of our leading theme of "one Spirit," this discussion must also draw out aspects of this motif from the Jewish textual sources. What we find is that this material does not collocate spirit with oneness directly; that pairing is a particularly Pauline formulation (although as we will see, there are topical similarities of unity and *pneuma* collocations in the Stoic sources). Consequently, the significance of oneness here requires that it be developed in its own contexts and points of emphases.

2.4.1. One God, One People in Jewish Literature

The central importance of monotheism for both ancient Israel and Second Temple Jews is well-established.[114] Deuteronomy 6:4 supplies the foundational recitation:

שמע ישראל יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד

How this is best translated is of significant debate. The traditional rendering, "YHWH our God, YHWH is one," so it has been argued by Levenson and others, reflects a later philosophical monism rather than the monotheism of covenant loyalty which more appropriately

[113] Frey, "View of the Spirit," 260.

[114] The contours of what monotheism entails (and in turn denies) both in belief and practice throughout Israel's history are, however, of significant debate. See, e.g., Nathan MacDonald, *Deuteronomy and the Meaning of Monotheism* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 22–57.

informs the *Shema* of ancient Israel and its early literary traditions.[115] Accordingly, it is offered that the better rendering is: YHWH is God, YHWH alone.[116] In either rendering, it is undisputed that the *Shema* forms a foundational principle for Judaism—a prayer recited by observant Jews each morning and evening.[117]

Important for our purposes is the way the biblical motif of oneness expresses itself in two related senses. To use Bauckham's formulation, "the word can point to the uniqueness of a single person or thing: *there is only one of them*. Or the same word can point to the unity of a group of persons or things: *the group is united rather than divided*."[118] Certainly in the prophetic material and in later Jewish texts, God's "oneness" was discussed in light of the sectarian rivalry within Israel. Thus, the motif of oneness is often raised in connection with the divided kingdom and the fitting remedy that north and south be brought together as one as God himself is "one."[119] So Ezekiel, speaking of the gathering of Israel and Judah, prophesies as follows:

> I will make them one nation [ἔθνος ἓν | לגוי אחדל] in the land, on the mountains of Israel; and one king shall be king over them all. Never again shall they be two nations and never again shall they be divided into two kingdoms. . . . My

[115] Jon D. Levenson, *Sinai and Zion* (New York: HarperCollins, 1987), 52–86 (arguing that early tradition within the Pentateuch [e.g., Exod 20:3; 15:11] assumes the reality of other "gods" and that YHWH's "oneness" is more properly understood as a framing of covenantal loyalty); cf. Mark S. Smith, *The Origins of Biblical Monotheism: Israel's Polytheistic Background and the Ugaritic Texts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[116] But see R. W. L. Moberly, "'Yahweh Is One': The Translation of the Shema," in *Studies in the Pentateuch*, ed. J. A. Emerton (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 209–15 (critiquing this rendering as untenable based on the nature of Hebrew idiom and the internal usage of the words in question throughout Deuteronomy).

[117] Josephus, *Ant.* 4.212 ("Let everyone commemorate before God the benefits which he bestowed upon them at their deliverance out of the land of Egypt, and this twice every day, both when the day begins and when the hour of sleep comes on"); also Let. Aris. 160; 1QS 10.10; also David Instone-Brewer, *Prayer and Agriculture*, vol. 1, *Traditions of the Rabbis from the Era of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004).

[118] Richard Bauckham, *Gospel of Glory: Major Themes in Johannine Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2015), 23.

[119] Bauckham, *Gospel of Glory*, 27.

> servant David shall be king over them; and they shall all have one shepherd. (Ezek 37:22, 24a)

The same ideas can be seen in passages such as Micah 2:12, Hosea 1:11, and Isaiah 45:20, where either the word *ʿeḥād* (אחד) or *yaḥad* (יחד) bears the sense of bringing "together into one."[120]

In Second Temple Jewish literature, the idea that God is "one" generated similar patterns of thinking which connected divine oneness with a corresponding unity that is befitting his people. "For we are all a people of the Name," 2 Baruch 48:23–24 explains, "we, who have received one Law from the One." The comments from Josephus also captures this well: "Let there be then one city of the land of Canaan. . . . Let there also be one temple therein, and one altar. . . . And let there be neither an altar nor a temple in any other city; for God is but one, and the nation of the Hebrews is but one."[121] The insistence that there be no other temple in any other city is significant not least because Josephus knew about the Leontopolis temple (e.g., *Ant.* 13.72; *JW* 7.420–32).[122] His point was likely that the Jerusalem temple alone was of singular importance, and itself worthy and analogous with the singularity of God (remembering, of course, that Josephus writes post-70 CE, when the temple lay in ruins).[123] Josephus elsewhere discusses the idea of "one temple" itself as a unifying point for humanity. "One temple of the one God—for like is always attracted to like, common to all people as belonging to the common God of all."[124]

[120] Bauckham, *Gospel of Glory*, 26–27. Some have suggested that the Yaḥad community at Qumran was so named as to reflect the identity of the "one" God. So C. T. R. Hayward, "'The LORD Is One': Reflections on the Theme of Unity in John's Gospel from a Jewish Perspective," in *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*, ed. Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Wendy North (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 142–49; also in Andrew Byers, "The One Body of the Shema in 1 Corinthians: An Ecclesiology of Christological Monotheism," *NTS* 62, no. 4 (2016): 521.

[121] Josephus, *Ant.* 4.200.

[122] On the Leontopolis temple, he writes, "Onias took the place and built a temple, an altar to God, like indeed to that in Jerusalem, but smaller and poorer. . . . Onias found other Jews like to himself, together with priests and Levites, that there performed divine service." *Ant.* 13.72.

[123] See John M. G. Barclay, *Flavius Josephus: Against Apion: Translation and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 279n769.

[124] *Ag. Ap.* 2.23 (193).

These sentiments are matched by Philo, who explains that "since God is one, there should be also only one temple" (ἐπειδὴ εἷς ἐστιν ὁ θεός, καὶ ἱερὸν ἕν εἶναι).[125] Philo, furthermore, connected the motif of oneness and its resulting unity with loving solidarity to his fellow people.

> For our lawgiver [Moses] was aware beforehand, as was natural that one who was a countryman and a relation, and who had also an especial share in the sublimest relationship of all, (and that sublimest of relationships is one constitution [πολιτεία μία] and the same law, and one God whose chosen nation is a peculiar people) . . . he would even give his own property to those who were in need of it, making his own wealth common.[126]

But God's oneness can yield a range of other important exhortative material besides corporate unity. One of the most common chains of reasoning in Scripture that emerges out of the recital of Jewish monotheism is the injunction against idolatry. Following Deuteronomy 6:4 and its pronouncement of one God, the text reserves its sternest warning for idolatry: "Do not follow other gods, any of the gods of the peoples who are all around you, because the Lord your God, who is present with you, is a jealous God. The anger of the Lord your God would be kindled against you and he would destroy you from the face of the earth" (6:14–15). It is from here that the text moves to the discussion of the *ḥerem* and the destruction of neighboring lands—principally on the grounds that these nations would cause Israel to turn away and serve other gods.[127] The fraught history of Israel with idolatry and their loyalty to the one God is among the most identifiable themes in the Law, Writings, and Prophets.[128]

[125] Philo, *Spec.* 1.67.

[126] Philo, *Spec.* 4.159; see also *Virt.* 34–35.

[127] See R. W. L. Moberly, "Toward an Interpretation of the Shema," in *Theological Exegesis: Essays in Honor of Brevard S. Childs*, ed. Christopher R. Seitz and Kathryn Greene-McCreight (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 124–44 (discussing the conceptual link between the *Shema* and *ḥerem*).

[128] E.g., Deut 32:21; 2 Kgs 17:15; 2 Chr 33:15; Isa 45:20; 57:13; Ezek 36:25; Hos 8:4.

2.5. Conclusions

Our examination of the Jewish biblical and extrabiblical texts observes that all of the reviewed literary corpora appreciate the externally observable effects of the *pneuma* on persons and other phenomena. It is the Greek and Roman philosophical and medical texts (discussed in the subsequent chapter), however, that insist on the corporeality of *pneuma* itself. The Jewish sources, even those that evince Stoic influences, display more circumspection in describing "spirit" as capable of producing physical effects without necessarily itself being marked by materiality. We also traced the variety of ways that Spirit represented divine power or presence in their distinct registers. While some of the prophets, such as Ezekiel and Haggai, gesture at the connection between God's Spirit and God's theophanic presence, Josephus, importantly, makes this connection explicit in his translation of Solomon's dedication prayer.

Notably, while all of the later Jewish texts continue the scriptural tradition of linking the *pneuma* with prophetic speech, Philo and Josephus share a distinct emphasis on the oracular and ecstatic forms of prophecy based on the activity of the *pneuma*—an understanding of prophecy more in line with the Pythia, who could serve as passive vessels for the oracles of Apollo at Delphi.[129] This is not shared by the texts associated with the Qumran corpus, whose view of the Spirit is significantly more directed toward revealing insight into the proper manner of walking in accordance to the Torah and how the righteous standards of God are formed within the community.

One area that will prove of importance throughout the balance of the study is the relationship between Spirit and wisdom developed in the Hellenistic Jewish literature. Wisdom in particular speaks of a personified Wisdom in terms distinctly marked by *pneuma*. This *pneumatic* wisdom structures the universe and holds it together, but it also microcosmically counsels the hearts of the godly. Wisdom is

[129] Philo, *QE* 2.105; *Her.* 69; 263; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.118; 6.222. On the nature of prophecy in Philo and Josephus, see Levison, *Spirit in First-Century*, 131–77; also Tibbs, *Religious Experience of the Pneuma*, 113–44; on Paul, see Charles H. Talbert, "Paul's Understanding of the Holy Spirit: The Evidence of 1 Corinthians 12–14," *PRSt* 11, no. 4 (1984): 95–108.

also closely connected with the rightly oriented knowledge of God, which in turn establishes the basis for the right worship of God over against the idolatrous pattern of the "nations" (cf. Wis 13–15; Rom 1:19–25).[130] Incidentally, this relationship between wisdom, spirit, knowledge, and the proper worship of God is a related theme that finds development in Pauline thought. Paul's own discussion against idolatry is similarly rooted in those who "possess knowledge" (1 Cor 8:4, 7, 20; Wis 15:2–3). Importantly, it is the Spirit for Paul that speaks and inspires the confession of Jesus as Lord, in contrast to the pagan "idols that could not speak" and restores the community as a worshipping temple in the Lord (1 Cor 12:2; 14:26; 3:16).

Turning specifically to the texts associated with the sect at Qumran, it is here where we most readily find parallels with the early Christian nomenclature of "holy spirit."[131] These sectarian texts distinguish themselves by their profound attraction to Spirit as an eschatological phenomenon that is poured out on a distinct group of people—a feature that is observed in no other corpora of the Second Temple period except early Christian biblical texts. Furthermore, these texts reveal a distinct proclivity to Ezekiel 36 and Jeremiah 31 in focusing on the inner realities of the Spirit in shaping and chastening the recipient of the Spirit unto righteous living.[132] These texts connect the revelatory function of the Spirit, not with the more oracular or visionary modes (as in Philo or Josephus), but with the wisdom that obtains from a proper understanding of the right way of *walking*—what the sectarian leaders might call *halakhah* (e.g., CD 7.4).

[130] On the scholarly discussion concerning Wisdom 13–15 and Romans 1 on the topic of idolatry, see Linebaugh, *God, Grace, and Righteousness*, 93–115.

[131] See § 2.1.4.

[132] Cf. 1QS 4.20–21; 1QH^{a} 8.19–20; 29; 21.34 with Rom 8:3; 2 Cor 3:3–6.

3
Stoic and Greco-Roman Background Material for One Spirit

God is near you, he is with you, he is within you. This is what I mean, Lucilius: a holy spirit indwells within us, one who marks our good and bad deeds, and is our guardian.

Seneca, *Ep.* 41

3.1. Stoic Pneumatology in Wide-Angle Perspective

Increasingly, Pauline scholars have appreciated the shared features of Paul's spirit language when compared against Stoic literature.[1] Scholars such as Troels Engberg-Pedersen have gone as far as finding the Pauline texts to indicate a "Stoic-like, philosophical understanding of the Pauline pneuma,"[2] which he believes Paul formed by drawing from a "materialistic and monistic Stoicism" as his "basic,

[1] Among the growing list of examples, see, e.g., Troels Engberg-Pedersen, *Cosmology and Self in the Apostle Paul: The Material Spirit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Runar M. Thorsteinsson, *Roman Christianity and Roman Stoicism: A Comparative Study of Ancient Morality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Michelle V. Lee, *Paul, the Stoics, and the Body of Christ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Philip Francis Esler, "Paul and Stoicism: Romans 12 as a Test Case," *NTS* 50, no. 1 (2004): 106–24. Cf. George H. van Kooten, "St. Paul on Soul, Spirit, and the Inner Man," in *The Afterlife of the Platonic Soul*, ed. John M. Dillon and Maha Elkaisy-Friemuth (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

[2] Engberg-Pedersen, *Cosmology and Self*, 18.

philosophical reference point."[3] More recently, the pneumatological accounts from scholars within or adjacent to the Paul-within-Judaism school have relied heavily upon Stoic accounts of a material *pneuma* to account for Paul's view of the *pneuma* as establishing a *pneumatic* basis for gentile inclusion into God's covenant blessing.[4] Given the importance these studies place upon Stoic pneumatology for providing the proper context for Paul's own understanding of the *pneuma*, the majority of this chapter will be devoted to better understanding Stoic physics and pneumatology. In doing so, this chapter will also evaluate evidence from other Greek philosophical traditions concerning *pneuma* (such as ancient medical texts and the Greek magical papyri).

Founded by Zeno of Citium (355–263 BCE) and deriving its name from the *Stoa Poikile* (Painted Stoa) of Athens, where the teachings were conducted, Stoicism was a practical philosophy that drew from and interacted heavily with the ideas of Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle as well as its more contemporary movements, Epicureanism and Cynicism. The principal sources within the Stoic corpus arise from the writings of Diogenes Laertius and his reporting of the lives of Zeno, Cleanthes (331–232 BCE), and Chrysippus (ca. 280–207 BCE). The Roman Stoicism more contemporary to Paul includes the reports and reflections of Cicero, Seneca, and Marcus Aurelius.[5]

The historical evidence of the compatibility between Paul and the Stoics is demonstrated somewhat by Origen's doxographical report that Celsus "is of the opinion that when we say 'God is Spirit (πνεῦμα),' there is no difference between us and the Greek Stoics,

[3] Engberg-Pedersen, *Cosmology and Self*, 4.

[4] See in particular Matthew Thiessen, *Paul and the Gentile Problem* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016); and Stanley Stowers, "The Dilemma of Paul's Physics: Features Stoic-Platonist or Platonist-Stoic?" in *From Stoicism to Platonism: The Development of Philosophy, 100 BCE–100 CE*, ed. Troels Engberg-Pedersen (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 231–53; also the discussion in § 6.3.

[5] For a topical compendium of these works, see A. A. Long and D. N. Sedley, *The Hellenistic Philosophers*, vol. 1, *Translations of the Principal Sources, with Philosophical Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 158–429. On Roman Stoicism as its own distinct movement, see Thorsteinsson, *Roman Christianity and Roman Stoicism*.

who say 'God is πνεῦμα, interpenetrating everything and containing everything within itself."[6] Indeed, the evidence weighs in favor of Paul coming into contact with Stoic ideas. In the era of the early Christians, Stoicism and later Roman Stoicism likely emerged as the closest candidate for a popular philosophy.[7] Sedley, seeing evidence of the wide adaptation of Stoic thinking from Roman emperors down to slaves, reckons that "so widespread was its influence that its terminology and methodology became the common currency even of those who opposed its teachings."[8] Roman Stoicism, the era which saw the height of the tradition's influence, was taught in public spaces, in keeping with the practice of its founder, Zeno of Citium, who himself taught in the Greek *Stoa* (situated in the ancient Agora in Athens).[9] Paul's citation of one of the "poets" of Athens (at least according to Acts 17), "for we are his offspring," comes either from the Stoic writings of Aratus or from Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus*, evincing contact with the material (if not awareness of its more specific features and claims).[10] Likewise, evidence of the presence and influence of medical thinkers, including the *Pneumatists*, is found in major cosmopolitan areas throughout the Roman Empire, extending through Asia Minor, including notably Roman Corinth.[11] Such evi-

[6] Origen, *Cels.* 6.71. Origen quickly dismisses the notion, explaining that "the oversight and providence of God does permeate all things, but not like the spirit of the Stoics." Accordingly, the claim of Celsus concerning the similitude of Christian views on the *pneuma* with the Stoic view is not widely shared. See the discussion on Celsus in Terence Paige, "Who Believes in 'Spirit'? Πνεῦμα in Pagan Usage and Implications for the Gentile Christian Mission," *HTR* 95, no. 4 (2002): 426.

[7] Hans Josef Klauck deems the influence of Stoicism to be so extensive that the essential Stoic ideas were deemed to have "become commonplaces" by the second century CE. *The Religious Context of Early Christianity: A Guide to Graeco-Roman Religions* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 337.

[8] David Sedley, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Greek and Roman Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 165.

[9] As a testament to the popular influence of Stoicism, Athens erected a statue at public expense in Zeno's honor upon his death commemorating his "virtue" and his "teaching." Diogenes Laertius, *Lives* 7.1.10–11.

[10] Aratus, *Phaen.* 1–5.

[11] See Paul Mark Robertson, "De-Spiritualizing Pneuma: Modernity, Religion, and Anachronism in the Study of Paul," *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 26, no. 4–5 (2014): 374–75; see also Heinrich von Staden, *Herophilus:*

dence indeed makes it difficult to maintain the position that Paul's view of the *pneuma* (and especially the views of his believing communities) was effectively cloistered from the reach of these ideas and its distinct coloring on how *pneuma* was to be used and understood in public discourse.

The attention of our review of the material will be tailored to the themes named in the previous chapter: spirit, divinity, and oneness (although here in its distinct Stoic register).[12] Geoffrey Lloyd reminds us that when it comes to ancient Greek literature on *pneuma*, wind, and even respiratory breathing, there was no stable consensus or consistency in these terms.[13] Even when one analyzes a single group of literature (i.e., the Stoics), Levison similarly warns that "the conception of *pneuma* underwent significant metamorphoses in the first two centuries of Stoic thought, due in no small measure to the growing stature of the Alexandrian physicians who accorded increasing significance to the *pneuma* in human physiology."[14] None of the foregoing should dissuade an attempt at drawing together a constructive account of Stoic pneumatology, but the necessary precautions are raised in advance.

3.2. The Spirit and Divinity in Stoic Literature

3.2.1. God, *Pneuma*, and Stoicism

A reliable point of entry for understanding the Stoic system of thought is to understand its emphasis on the deeply interconnected nature of all things, not only cosmological realities and anthropological beings, but also divine beings and personified ideals such as

The Art of Medicine in Early Alexandria (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 459–60 (reporting an expansion of the medical schools from Alexandria into Asia Minor in the mid-first century BCE).

[12] For further integrated discussion of Stoic cosmology, see G. Verbeke, *L'évolution de la doctrine du Pneuma du stoïcisme à saint Augustin* (Paris: D. de Brouwer, 1945); see also David E. Hahm, *The Origins of Stoic Cosmology* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1977). See also Ricardo Salles, *God and Cosmos in Stoicism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[13] Geoffrey Lloyd, "Pneuma between Body and Soul," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 13 (2007): S135–36.

[14] John R. Levison, *Filled with the Spirit* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 138.

Nature, Fate, and Wisdom. David Sedley explains that "the Stoic system prides itself on being an organic whole, so interwoven that, whichever thread you pull, the entire rope will follow."[15] The Stoic sage's pursuit of *eudaimonia* and virtuous flourishing is carefully connected with grasping Stoic physics, the nature of the cosmos, and the movement of *pneuma* in the world away from denser matter toward purer states of existence. This complex interrelation of ideas can be illustrated in the Stoic teaching of *ekpyrosis*—the recurring conflagration of the world.[16] That the world is consumed in fire and remade anew in infinite succession does not, in Stoic thinking, indicate a multiverse of sorts, where new worlds continue to emerge in perpetuity. It is not new worlds, but rather the same world, down to the smallest detail, that emerges in endless recurrence in a cycle of Stoic determinism.[17] The Stoic disciple (*proficientes*) is to understand the nature of their fate (as well as that of the whole world) and perform their allotted role with honor and a proper mindset. The ideas bound up in *ekpyrosis*, then, are simultaneously cosmological, natural, and ethical.

Pneuma occupies a unique place in this interrelated system of thought as it is the common element that brings all of substance together into a related whole. It gives coherence to the whole interrelated system and allows Nature to interface with Reason, Wisdom, and God. "The whole of substance is unified," Chrysippus explains, "because it is totally pervaded by a pneuma through which the whole is held together."[18] As was the case with *ekpyrosis*, *pneuma* must be understood, therefore, not only as a biological concept, but also ontological, natural, cosmological, ethical, and religious (or divine).

[15] Sedley, *Greek and Roman Philosophy*, 164.

[16] On the Stoic doctrine of conflagration *ekpyrosis*, see A. A. Long, "The Stoics on World-Conflagration and Everlasting Recurrence," *Southern Journal of Philosophy* 23, no. 5 (1985): 13–37; Alexander, *On Aristotle's Prior Analytics*, 180.33–6 (*SVF* 2.624); Long and Sedley, *Hellenistic Philosophers*, 52F.

[17] E.g., Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* 7.23 (*SVF* 2.623); Long and Sedley, *Hellenistic Philosophers*, 1.52B ("Chrysippus . . . when speaking of the world's renewal [explains] we too after our death will return again to the shape we now are, after certain periods of time have elapsed").

[18] Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Mixt.* 216.14–16 (trans. Robert B. Todd, in Todd, *Alexander of Aphrodisias on Stoic Physics* [Leiden: Brill Academic, 1997], 115); on the Stoic nature of *pneuma* and its unifying nature in the cosmos, see also Lee, *Paul and the Stoics*, 49–54.

The Greek philosophical tradition contains extensive discussion of *pneuma* as a rarefied ether that interacted with the elements of the cosmos or as a life-giving principle.[19] It is, however, not until the Stoic writings where one "finally [finds] frequent evidence of an identification of 'spirit' and 'god.'"[20] But this requires clarification. In the Stoic literature, *pneuma* is not the primary word to address or characterize deity (or deities). The connection is indirect. Seneca expresses this idea well: "all that you behold, that which comprises both god and man, is one."[21] So, since *pneuma* is that which pervades all things, *pneuma* can signify "God," but few sources spell this out in such direct terms.[22] In more traditional terms, Stoics can appeal to God with reference to Zeus.[23] On another side of the spectrum, the notion of God for the Stoics answers to a variety of names and can be conceived in a variety of ways. The following from Diogenes Laertius is representative of this way of thinking:

> The deity, say they, is a living being, immortal, rational . . . taking providential care of the world and all that therein is, but he is not of human shape. He is, however, the artificer of the universe [δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων] and, as it were, the father of all, both in general and in that particular part of him which is all-pervading, and which is called many names according to its various powers.[24]

[19] Cf. John M. Rist, "On Greek Biology, Greek Cosmology and Some Sources of Theological Pneuma," in *Man, Soul and Body: Essays in Ancient Thought from Plato to Dionysius* (Aldershot, England: Variorum, 1996), 27–40; also Abraham P. Bos, "'Pneuma' as Quintessence of Aristotle's Philosophy," *Hermes* 141, no. 4 (2013): 417–34.

[20] Friedrich Wilhelm Horn, "Holy Spirit," in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 262. There is early attestation to the mantic inspiration which divinely inspires the prophetic activity at Delphi. So for example, Euripides, *Iphigenia* 760–61 ("There, I am told, Cassandra tosses her yellow hair, adorned with the green crown of myrtle when she is controlled by the god's prophetic inspiration [ὅταν θεοῦμαντόσυνοι πνεύσωσ' ἀνάγκαι]").

[21] Seneca, *Ep.* 95.52.

[22] See, e.g., Theophrastus, *De sens.* 42 ("the *air* within us [is] a small portion of god").

[23] E.g., Epictetus, *Diatr.* 1.6; 2.23.7.

[24] Diog. Laert., *Lives* 7.147. Cf. Lee, *Paul and the Stoics*, 55n44 (citing studies representing the various personal and impersonal aspects of Stoic discourse on "God" with reference to the hymn from Cleanthes).

Accordingly, Zeno can speak of God as "one and the same with Reason, Fate, and Zeus,"[25] or he can also consider the whole world as a living being named in terms of God,[26] and yet God can also be known by the more traditional names of Zeus, Athena, Poseidon, and Demeter.[27] Because of this flexibility, the Stoics are at home offering sacrifices and worship to the various gods "under the names which custom has bestowed upon them."[28] Notably in Stoic practice, these sacrifices are given their significance by the quality of the one making the offering. Says Cicero, "the purest, holiest, and most pious way of worshipping the gods is ever to venerate them with purity, sincerity and innocence both of thought and of speech."[29] Seneca adds that "the honour that is paid to the gods lies, not in the victims for sacrifice, though they be fat and glitter with gold, but in the upright and holy desire of the worshippers [*deorum est honor sed recta ac pia voluntate venerantium*]."[30]

To describe Stoic cosmology and philosophy, then, in terms of monotheism or pantheism is both anachronistic and unhelpful.[31] Stoic thought and literary reflections defy simple categorization in religious terms—occupying features that are "not purely pantheistic, but an amalgam of pantheism and theism."[32] On one level, it is

[25] Diog. Laert. 7.1.135.

[26] Diog. Laert. 7.1.137 ("The term universe or cosmos is used by [the Stoics] in three senses: [1] of God himself . . .").

[27] Diog. Laert. 7.1.147. See also Keimpe Algra, "Stoic Philosophical Theology and Graeco-Roman Religion," in *God and Cosmos in Stoicism*, ed. Ricardo Salles (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 224–51.

[28] So says Cicero describing Stoic beliefs through the character Balbus—here referring to the proper duties of worship to Ceres and Neptune. See Cicero, *Nat. d.* 2.28.71.

[29] *Nat. d.* 2.28.71.

[30] Seneca, *Ben.* 1.6.3. See the discussion in Philip N. Richardson, *Temple of the Living God: The Influence of Hellenistic Philosophy on Paul's Figurative Temple Language Applied to the Corinthians* (Eugene, Ore.: Pickwick, 2018), 51–109 (generously laying out a range of textual examples on Stoic and other Greco-Roman philosophers on the subject of cultic imagery and its philosophical outworking for proper living).

[31] E.g., N. T. Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2013), 213 ("Stoicism, after all, was the classic form of pantheism, the doctrine that sees divinity in everything").

[32] Johan Carl Thom, *Cleanthes' Hymn to Zeus: Text, Translation and Commentary* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 25. For a helpful disaggregation of the features and misconceptions concerning pantheism and other theistic concepts, see

accurate to assess Stoic portrayals of deity as the view that God is one—a view that approximates pantheism insofar as it regards everything that exists to constitute an all-inclusive *divine unity*.[33] But Stoics most notably recognize God not in the most abstract sense, but more particularly in the *reason* that is discerned in the world and in wise beings. Epictetus writes that it is "reason [*logos*] that reflects the divine in humans, and where men can be spoken of in terms of their divine character" (*Diatr.* 1.14.14). So while Epictetus can expand his notion of God to the general: "all things are united as one" (*Diatr.* 1.14), Rowe adds that "in Epictetan grammar God is not simply another word for the world in its entirety. It names instead a certain character of the cosmos, a direction or grain within its overarching unity."[34] It is perhaps more true to the sources to characterize Stoicism as a way of life whose practice [ἄσκησις] was informed by its protracted reflection on the structure of the universe and human physiology—a way of thinking that could in some discourse be discussed in terms compatible with "God" but in other discussions quite resistant to such categories.

3.2.2. *Pneuma*, Respiration, and Divinity in Pre-Stoic Philosophy

Because the Stoics were in conscious dialogue with the classical philosophical tradition, it is important to trace some of these foundational categories concerning the *pneuma*. The earliest evidence in the Western world of *pneuma* as a primary explanation for the formation and order of the cosmos is attributed to Pythagoras (ca. 570–490 BCE) and his followers.[35] Like many of the pre-Socratic philosophers of

Michael P. Levine, "Divine Unity and Superfluous Synonymity," *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* 4, no. 3 (1990): 211–36; for its applicability in Greek religion, see also C. Kavin Rowe, "One and Many in Greek Religion," in *Oneness and Variety*, ed. Adolf Portman and Rudolf Ritsema (Leiden: Brill, 1980).

[33] Alasdair MacIntyre, "Pantheism," in *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Paul Edwards (New York: Macmillan, 1967), 5:34.

[34] C. Kavin Rowe, *One True Life: The Stoics and Early Christians as Rival Traditions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 48.

[35] On Pythagoras and *pneuma*, see now Phillip Sidney Horky, "Cosmic Spiritualism among the Pythagoreans, Stoics, Jews and Early Christians," in *Cosmos in the Ancient World*, ed. Phillip Sidney Horky (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 270–94.

his time, and based on our doxographical evidence,[36] Pythagoras also sought to explain the original, elemental principle out of which all things in the universe derived their origins.[37] His predecessors sought to explain the origination of all things in terms of one of the primary elements. Some appealed to the basic elements to explain the origin of all things: water (Thales), fire (Heraclites), air (Anaximenes). Others shaped their reductionism on more abstract principles such as "the One" (Parmenides), "change" (Heraclitus), or the elusive *apeiron* of Anaximander (c. 610–546 BCE).[38] Aristotle ascribes to Pythagoras the pronouncement "Numbers constitute the whole universe" (*Metaph.* 1.5 986a17–21). Given his fame for mathematical theory, this may not surprise many, but it is misleading if not fully developed with respect to *pneuma*. The "heaven is One," Aristotle reports of Pythagoras, and the space which causes the differentiation of all things (i.e., the void [τὸ κενόν]) enters heaven "from the infinite breath" (ἐκ τοῦ ἀπείρου πνεύματος) that is drawn from a fiery center.[39] The "void penetrates the *kosmos* as if the latter inhaled it or

[36] As is the case with many ancient philosophers who left no extant writings, our evidence on Pythagoras is doxographical, conflicting, and subject to bias. On the unique challenges of sorting through the evidence concerning Pythagoras, Pythagoreans, and the subdivisions within Pythagoreanism, see Leonid Zhmud, *Pythagoras and the Early Pythagoreans*, trans. Kevin Windle and Rosh Ireland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 61–119; see also Erich Frank, *Plato und die sogenannten Pythagoreer: Ein Kapitel aus der Geschichte des Griechischen Geistes* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1962) (expressing skepticism regarding a genuinely pre-Socratic Pythagoreanism during the century following the death of Pythagoras).

[37] A helpful review of the current scholarship on pre-Socratic philosophy and Pythagoreanism is Patricia Curd, "New Work on the Presocratics," *J. Hist. Phil.* 49, no. 1 (2011): 1–37. I attribute the following views associated with Pythagoras to the thinker himself, leaving aside the debate of what can accurately be derived from the thinker himself as opposed to his followers and doxographers.

[38] While many resort to defining *apeiron* as "the boundless," its function and shape are debated. On this, see Elizabeth Asmis, "What Is Anaximander's Apeiron?" *J. Hist. Phil.* 19, no. 3 (1981): 279–97 (contending that *apeiron* does not refer to a principle physically separated from generated things, but something representing a principle of deity, who is one with the succession of generated things).

[39] Aristotle, *Phys.* 4.6, 213b22; the texts and translations are also provided in Horky, "Cosmic Spiritualism," 272–73; Charles H. Kahn, *Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2001), 29.

exhaled it like a breath [*pneuma*] of what is diffused around it from the outside."[40] For the Pythagoreans, then, the cosmos inhales and exhales "breath" as a living being, the rhythm of its breathing becoming that which orders the universe, giving shape and differentiation to all that takes form as a result of its undulating respiration.

What Pythagoras gives rise to in subsequent philosophical reflection (and taken up far more seriously by the Stoics) is the insight of the *kosmos* as a macrocosm of the microcosm of living beings, animated by *pneuma*. Horky summarizes this helpfully: "With the advent of Pythagorean philosophy in Greece something had changed: the kosmos itself, understood in speculatively biomorphic terms, was now being associated with a unified, living being, whose self-constitution was regulated through its primal activity of breathing."[41] Whereas before Pythagoras one might find, as in Homer, that the gods "breathe into" humans certain insights and guidance,[42] Pythagoras appears to introduce the idea that *everything that is* exists as a unified *macrocosm*, co-respiring with the living and breathing inhabitants of the world.

The Stoics develop this Pythagorean image of a single "world soul" in which any individual being or thing consists as a part of the whole, each one subsisting as a microcosmos to the ultimate macrocosmos which could be identified with God.[43] So Cicero explains of Chrysippus' theo-cosmology: "[H]e calls the world itself a god, and also the all-pervading world-soul."[44] As Alexandrian medical thought

[40] Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*, 651.39–41; Horky, "Cosmic Spiritualism," 273.

[41] Horky, "Cosmic Spiritualism," 274.

[42] E.g., Homer, *Od.* 19.138. Horky notes the similarity of the biblical motif of God's inbreathing into man to form a living being (Gen 2:7). "Cosmic Spiritualism," 274.

[43] See George Perrigo Conger, *Theories of Macrocosms and Microcosms in the History of Philosophy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1922). The first indisputable occurrence of the phrase μικρὸς κόσμος and μακρὸς κόσμος comes from Aristotle (*Phys.* 8.2, 252b), but there are conceptual forerunners of the idea in Democritus and Pythagoras among others (as Conger explains). See also Diog. Laert. 7.1.143 ("The world . . . is a living thing in the sense of an animate substance endowed with sensation. . . . It is endowed with soul, as is clear from our several souls being each a fragment of it").

[44] Cicero, *Nat. d.* 1.39.

developed, and as *pneuma* occupied greater explanatory power for the cohesive aspect of human anatomy and physiology, *pneuma* likewise took on an explanatory role as a dynamic unifying factor in all life and the cosmos.[45]

3.2.3. Stoic Concepts of Tension, Sympathy, Blending

To this point, this study has not developed the finer logic behind the unifying effects of *pneuma* in Stoic cosmology. It has been established that the Stoics regarded *pneuma* as the cohesive principle of the universe.[46] The four elements that have been traditionally accepted in Greek philosophy—earth, air, fire, water—have been reconfigured in Stoic thinking by an all-pervading *pneuma* which holds fire and air together (constituting the active element of the cosmos) and earth and water together (the passive element).[47] In this scheme, *pneuma* binds all things together, not in an abstract sense, but within a system of finely tuned and interconnected cosmological dynamics. These are tension, sympathy, and blending, and each will be discussed in turn.

Tension (τόνος) was a concept apparently introduced by Cleanthes (*SVF* 1.563) but developed at length by Chrysippus, who understood that the cosmos was held together by a balance of simultaneously opposing forces.[48] From Heraclitus, the Stoics retrieved the notion of the *pneuma* as fire, whose "innate warmth" was among the starting points for their understanding of the characteristics and function of *pneuma*.[49] In dialogue with Aristotelian classifications of activity (hot and cold) and matter (dry and moist), Stoics reasoned the *pneuma* as holding in countervailing balance the opposing forces of hot (fire) and cold (air).[50] The cold principle of air opposes the warmth of fire, and this creates the principle of *tension* (τόνος) that is necessary for

[45] Levison, *Filled*, 139–40.

[46] § 3.2.3.

[47] On the Stoic reconfiguration of the elements along active and passive principles, see Long and Sedley, *Hellenistic Philosophers*, 280–89.

[48] For a helpful discussion of *tension* in Stoic cosmology, see Thomas G. Rosenmeyer, "Body, Tension, and Sumpatheia," in *Senecan Drama and Stoic Cosmology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 93–112.

[49] E.g., Diog. Laert. 7.156 (*SVF* 2.774); Heraclitus B31 D–K; also from Zeno, we are told that "heat and *pneuma* are the same" (*SVF* 1.513).

[50] Diog. Laert. 7.137 (*SVF* 2.580); also Galen, *Plac.* 5.3.8 (*SVF* 2.841).

the unifying quality of *pneuma*.[51] Chrysippus deduced that this mixture of heat and cold created a dynamic continuum within *pneuma* necessary to keep all manner of things in balance with each other.[52] This *pneumatic* breath, which itself exists in a state of *tension*, is thus recognized by the Stoics as the activating and shaping principle for all things—providing its stability, its shape, and its characteristics. Plutarch (reporting Chrysippus) explains that "the sustaining air is responsible for the quality of each of the bodies which are sustained by tenor."[53]

Closely related to *tension* (τόνος) is the concept of *sympathy* (συμπάθεια), which refers to the interconnected relationship of all things in nature, particularly the affinity of differing parts joined together in a larger whole.[54] On the simplest level, "if a person is cut in his finger, the whole body suffers."[55] While the concept is attested throughout Greek philosophical thinking when applied to organized groups of individuals,[56] it was the Stoics who projected this concept

[51] Plutarch reports that the Stoics "say that earth and water sustain neither themselves nor other things, but preserve their unity by participation in a breathy and fiery power; but air and fire because of their tensility can sustain themselves, and by blending with the other two provide them with tension and also with stability and substantiality." *SVF* 2.439; Long and Sedley, *Hellenistic Philosophers*, 282G.

[52] *SVF* 2.406 (Galen, *On Natural Faculties* 105, 13–17, reporting Chrysippus); cf. Long and Sedley, *Hellenistic Philosophers*, 280–89.

[53] Plutarch, *SVF* 2.449 (in Long and Sedley, *Hellenistic Philosophers*, 284M); also Seneca, *NQ* 2.6.2–4 (explaining that tension is the agency whereby the spiritus [Seneca's term for *pneuma*] holds all things together).

[54] On *symphatheia*, see Karl Reinhardt, *Kosmos und Sympathie: Neue Untersuchungen über Poseidonios* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1926); Eyjólfur K. Emilsson, *Plotinus on Sympatheia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Katerina Ierodiakonou, "The Greek Concept of *Sympatheia* and Its Byzantine Appropriation in Michael Psellos," in *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*, ed. Paul Magdalino and Maria Mavroudi (Geneva: La Pomme d'Or, 2006); Rosenmeyer, "Body, Tension, and Sumpatheia"; also Lee, *Paul and the Stoics*, 52.

[55] *SVF* 2.1013 (εἴ γε δακτύλου τεμνομένου τὸ ὅλον συνδιατίθεται σῶμα).

[56] The Hippocratic corpus (*De alim.* 23.1) refers to how when one part of the human body suffers, another part of the body may suffer as well. Aristotle (*Pol.* 1340a13) invokes συμπάθεια for the principle that humans participate in a

to the macrocosmic level of conceptuality.[57] Since it is a core feature of Stoic thinking that the whole cosmos is itself a living being (e.g., Diog. Laert. 7.142), they reasoned that what is true of individual persons (interlinked as they are in natural *sympathy*) must be true of the cosmos as a whole. Diogenes Laertius (reporting Chrysippus, 7.87–88) explains that "our individual natures are parts of the whole universe" (μέρη γάρ εἰσιν αἱ ἡμέτεραι φύσεις τῆς τοῦ ὅλου) and that our *telos* is found in following after the nature of life (διόπερ τέλος γίνεται τὸ ἀκολούθως τῇ φύσει ζῆν).[58] Marcus Aurelius writes of a "mutual interdependence of all things in the Universe" that is "intertwined" and held by a "sympathy" that breathes through all things in "the unity of all substance."[59]

The concept of *blending* (κράσις) (or blending of the whole [κράσις δι' ὅλων]) gives further cohesion to the nature and function of *pneuma* and its overall conception of unity.[60] Particularly with regard to Pauline studies on *pneuma*, the Greek concept of *krasis* has

shared feeling (in the context of music); see also Cicero, *Nat. d.* 2.19 (also in the context of music, explaining that the sympathetic agreement of all things is not possible "were they not maintained in unison by a single, divine all-pervading spirit [*uno divino et continuato spiritu*]"); cf. Lee, *Paul and the Stoics*, 52. On the topos of the social body and Paul's appeal to harmonic concord, see Margaret Mary Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: An Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 60–64, and the discussion in Matthew Croasmun, *The Emergence of Sin: The Cosmic Tyrant in Romans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 113–16.

[57] The Stoics also used συμφυΐα, συμμονή, συνοχή, συνέχεια, σύμπνοια, and συντονία to express similar ideas. References to these have been recorded in Ierodiakonou, "Greek Concept of *Sympatheia*," 100.

[58] See also Cleomedes, *De motu circulari* 1.1 (*SVF* 2.546) (describing that "the whole material world" exists in a "mutual sympathy of its parts" in such a way that the "cosmos [is] held together by one tension and . . . the *pneuma* [is] cohesive throughout the whole being") (translation adopted from Samuel Sambursky, *Physics of the Stoics* [1959; repr., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014], 128–29).

[59] *Meditations* 6.38.

[60] On the principles and passages reflecting on the concept of *krasis*, see Long and Sedley, *Hellenistic Philosophers*, 290–94; and also now Vanessa de Harven, "The Resistance to Stoic Blending," *Rhizomata* 6, no. 1 (2018): 1–23.

received significant attention due to its potential to elucidate Pauline concepts associated with *pneuma* and human-divine union and participation.[61] What the Stoics sought to accomplish with their unique understanding of *krasis* appears to be a development of the theories offered by Aristotle concerning the nature of mixtures and combinations of different substances.[62] Aristotle and the Stoics both understood the differences between "juxtaposition" (παράθεσις) (which merely involved the combining of two substances with no change of their separate characteristics) and the kind of blending where two constituent substances lose their own individual properties to form a new compound. For Aristotle, this type of 'blending' took the form of "fusion" (σύγχυσις).[63] In Aristotle's view, blending can only take place when the two constituents are of equal power. A drop of wine in a large receptacle of water eventually loses its property, perishes, and becomes a part of the total volume of water.[64] The Stoics, however, disagreed, asserting instead a blending that is "through and through" (κράσις δι' ὅλων or συγχύσει δι' ὅλων). So Chrysippus says (according to Plutarch), "nothing stops a single drop of wine from tempering the sea [and] in the blending the drop will extend through the whole world."[65]

It appears that the Stoic motivation in constructing an explanation for the mixture of unequal constituents (e.g., wine and water) was to create space for *pneuma* to function in its ordered cosmology. While the "Stoic conception of 'blending' has general application," explains Long and Sedley, "its chief function was certainly to explain how the

[61] See, e.g., Thiessen, *Gentile Problem*, 112–13; also Stanley K. Stowers, "What Is 'Pauline Participation in Christ'?" in *Redefining First-Century Jewish and Christian Identities: Essays in Honor of Ed Parish Sanders*, ed. Fabian E. Udoh, Susannah Heschel, Mark Chancey, and Gregory Tatum (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008), 362–63, and Caroline E. Johnson Hodge, *If Sons, Then Heirs: A Study of Kinship and Ethnicity in the Letters of Paul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 75.

[62] So Long and Sedley, *Hellenistic Philosophers*, 292 (asserting that Stoic "blending" theories were in "deliberate reference and partial opposition to Aristotle").

[63] Aristotle, *On Generation and Corruption* 1.10; 328a.26–28.

[64] Aristotle, *On Generation and Corruption* 328a.26–28; see also Long and Sedley, *Hellenistic Philosophers*, 292–93.

[65] Plutarch, *Comm. not.* 1078E (*SVF* 2.480; LS 48B).

light and tenuous elements of 'breath' [*pneuma*] could completely pervade portions of earth and water whose volume or density was very much greater."[66] In other words, if Aristotle is correct that only constituents of equal quality and quantity are capable of mixture and fusion, then *pneuma* could not shape and order the cosmos and bind all things together, as it would lose its integrity when blending with other objects much denser, much larger, or much more vast in concentration and quality. The Stoic idea of *krasis di' olou*, then, preserves a cosmology and ontological framework in which *pneuma* and all matter are thoroughly blended in such a way that the two are "mutually coextended in their entirety" but arranged in such a way that "each of them preserves its own nature."[67] Like heat into an iron, or wine into water, mixtures can interpenetrate one another, but the Stoics insist that the constituents persist (retaining their qualities). Importantly, in Stoic thought the process is reversible and the components of a given mixture can revert to their constituent parts if necessary.[68]

What should not be lost in this detail is the understanding that the Stoic concept of *krasis* was carefully conceived in order to promote a causal theory of bodies acting upon other bodies—a subset of discussions in the long-standing mind-body dilemma in philosophical debates. In other words, the Stoics sought to solve some of the more vexing problems associated with the substance of mixtures problem so that they could create space for *pneuma* to pervade all things and establish the logical basis for macro- and microcosmic correspondence in the universe. The idea, it appears, was not well received in its time. Plutarch mocks the Stoic doctrine of blending as absurd.[69]

[66] Long and Sedley, *Hellenistic Philosophers*, 293.

[67] Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Mixt.* 217.6–7, 216.28–31; cf. Lee, *Paul and the Stoics*, 53.

[68] See especially Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 1.155.5–11 (*SVF* 2.471; LS 48D) ("[Reporting Stoic doctrine] That the qualities of blended constituents persist in such blendings is quite evident from the fact that they are frequently separated from one another artificially. If one dips an oiled sponge into the wine which has been blended with water, it will separate the water from the wine since the water runs up into the sponge").

[69] Plutarch, *Comm. not.* 1078B–D (*SVF* 2.465; LS 48E); also Themistius, *On Aristotle's Physics* 104.9–19 (*SVF* 2.468) ("The ancients reduced [the 'blending' doctrines of Chrysippus and Zeno's followers] to a self-evident impossibility").

According to critics, the objections made prominent in Aristotle (that two bodies cannot occupy the same space) remain problematic for the pneumatological "blending" accounts of the Stoics.[70]

Taken together, the Stoics invested *pneuma* with holistic explanatory power for the structure of the cosmos and the moral basis of their philosophy. What has been highlighted here is the logic and function of how *pneuma* was understood to constitute a unifying principle for the world and for humans. *Tension*, *sympathy*, and *blending* were variously identified as interconnected explanations for how and why the *pneuma* aptly held all things together while still maintaining a divine account of causation and reasoned intelligence. They are not so much isolable features of *pneuma* as they are overlapping modes of conceiving nature. Tension explains the attractive power of the *pneuma* and sympathy its harmonic and unifying principle. The concept of blending served more of a ground-clearing purpose for the *pneuma* to be present at every dimension of the cosmos.

The notion of *krasis* in particular has provided fruitful ground for Pauline scholars to explain the manner in which Paul understood *pneuma* as physically changing the nature of persons so that a person can exist in one state (i.e., gentile, cut off from Abrahamic lineage and with it inheritance to God's blessing) and be transformed by the Spirit into another state altogether (i.e., sons of Abraham, heirs of God and co-heirs with Christ).[71] Thiessen, in particular, is impressed with how *krasis* describes a way substances can be mixed while preserving their unique properties. He applies the concept to Paul this way: "Since *krasis* permits the perfect mixture of two substances, while allowing those substances to retain their own distinctive aspects, Paul's gentiles-in-Christ both remain gentiles, and yet are distinguished from gentiles who are not in Christ."[72] Having shown how Stoics developed their theories on *krasis* in conscious dialogue with the long-standing philosophical debates concerning the mind-body dilemma, theories claiming Paul's reliance on *krasis* for his unity

[70] See Todd, *Alexander of Aphrodisias on Stoic Physics*, 29–88 (elaborating the Stoic idea of "blending," its quarrels with the Aristotelian paradoxes, and its intellectual afterlife).

[71] See § 6.3.1.

[72] Thiessen, *Gentile Problem*, 114. He further compares this concept with the theological hypostatic union of Christ's two natures (p. 122).

discourse ignore much of the philosophical context that undergirded Stoic *krasis* discourse. Paul evinces none of these broader philosophical concerns that the Stoics were preoccupied with, nor does his unity discourse share conceptual or lexical similarities with Stoic cosmology despite his reliance on the term *pneuma*.

3.2.4. Stoic Theology and Wise Living

The interconnected understanding of God and the world provides insight into how Stoics understood their duty to proper and wise living. Zeno is reported to connect the divine spirit indwelling within humans with their capacity for reason and intellect.[73] Seneca similarly speaks of the "god within us" strikingly in terms of "holy spirit" in *Ep.* 41 and is worth quoting at length:

> We do not need to uplift our hands towards heaven, or to beg the keeper of a temple to let us approach his idol's ear, as if in this way our prayers were more likely to be heard. God is near you, he is with you, he is within you. This is what I mean, Lucilius: a holy spirit indwells within us, one who marks our good and bad deeds, and is our guardian [*custos*]. As we treat this spirit, so we are treated by it. Indeed no man can be good without the help of God. . . . In each good man a god doth dwell, but what god know we not.

From this, we have at least one unique occurrence in Stoic literature[74] where spirit is discussed within the individual in terms of mutuality: "as we treat this spirit, so we are treated by it." The Stoic view of the divine Spirit can therefore be placed on both the broadest level of abstraction and on the level of the individual as the *parts* relate to the *whole*. Binding this together is the *pneuma*, of which even the air that is breathed, and "the air within us [is] a small portion of god."[75]

[73] Diog. Laert. 7.1.88; Epictetus, *Diatr.* 1.14.11–14; 2.8.11–14. On this see also Teun Tieleman, "The Spirit of Stoicism," in *The Holy Spirit, Inspiration, and the Cultures of Antiquity: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Jörg Frey and John R. Levison (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 51–52.

[74] This is the only known reference to "holy spirit" at this time apart from the occurrences in biblical and Palestinian Jewish literature.

[75] Theophrastus, *De sens.* 42; cf. Tieleman, "Spirit of Stoicism," 53–54 (describing the Stoic importance of respiration to the continuum of the world at large, governmental bodies, and individual persons).

The divine Spirit resides "in each good man," but in line with Stoic teaching it must be developed and cultivated for each one to truly progress in wisdom.

It would be a mistake, however, to color Seneca's "holy spirit" in tones resembling early Christian images of an indwelling "holy spirit" or even that of Qumran for that matter. What is more in view here is the practice of interfacing with an ideal sage that guides reasoned living. Accordingly, just as Seneca can speak of a "holy spirit" as a *custos* (guardian) that guides men, he encourages Lucilius elsewhere to choose a hero of the past and use him as a projection to serve as his *guardian* and guide (*Custodem nobis et paedagogu*) (*Ep.* 12.9). He describes the guardian as follows:

> Cherish some man of high character, and keep him ever before your eyes, living as if he were watching you, and ordering all your actions as if he beheld them. Such, my dear Lucilius, is the counsel of Epicurus; he has quite properly given us a *guardian* and an attendant. We can get rid of most sins, if we have a witness who stands near us when we are likely to go wrong. (*Ep.* 12.8–9)

There can be no doubt in this selection that he is speaking in terms of human guides from the past. "Choose therefore a Cato," Seneca suggests, "or if Cato seems too severe a model, choose some Laelius, a gentler spirit." Understood this way, there is an interchangeability in Seneca's logic about the divine principles for right living and its more human-spiritual manifestations. In the prior epistle (*Ep.* 10.5), Seneca gives this advice: "Live among men as if God beheld you; speak with God as if men were listening." The image of "living as if God beheld you" matches the idea of a spirit of "Cato or Laelius" that watches over the wise man, and therefore ought to order their actions "as if he beheld them." In this light, what Seneca most likely means by a "holy spirit" within the person is the Stoic's projection of an "ideal sage" that models wisdom and serves as a guide for the right path of living.[76]

3.2.5. The Fellowship of Man in Stoic Thinking

Stoicism is most popularly understood today as a philosophical teaching promoting a dispassionate endurance of all circumstances. So says

[76] On the importance of the ideal sage in Stoicism, see Thorsteinsson, *Roman Christianity and Roman Stoicism*, 150–58.

Seneca: "Whatever happens, good men should take it in good part, and turn it to a good end; it is not what you endure that matters, but how you endure it [*non quid sed quemadmodum feras interest*]."[77] While this is an undeniable feature of Stoic practice, more than promoting steely individualism, Stoicism featured a robust understanding of mutual obligation for one's fellow man. This idea largely derives from what Stoics perceive to be the pattern of nature. Seneca wrote, "Nature produced us related to one another . . . and made us prone to friendships." His exhortation from this unity follows as such: "Let us possess things in common; for birth is ours in common. Our relations with one another is like a stone arch, which would collapse if the stones did not mutually support each other, and which is upheld in this very way."[78] Seneca expresses a common theme of Stoic thought that emerges as a direct outworking of seeing the world as one whole, held together in a fluid balance of tension and *sympatheia*. All men are joined in common and so therefore are related to one another. As we have established, orchestrating the fine-tuning of this balance is a divine spirit. So Cicero: "[The] musical harmony of all the parts of the world assuredly could not go on were they not maintained in unison by a single, divine, all-pervading spirit [*uno divino et continuato spiritu*]" (*Nat. d.* 2.19).

It is this sense of shared commonality that motivates Stoic love for the brotherhood of mankind. So Seneca, on the treatment of slaves (*Ep.* 47.11–12): "Kindly remember that he whom you call your slave sprang from the same stock, is smiled upon by the same skies, and on equal terms with yourself breathes, lives, and dies. . . . This is my kernel of my advice: Treat your inferiors as you would be treated by your betters." Importantly, the Stoics could use the term of fellowship (κοινωνία) to convey this very idea. So Epictetus can describe universal humanity as "the natural fellowship of men with one another" (ἡ φθσικὴ κοινωνία ἀνθρώποις πρὸς ἀλλήλους).[79] Seneca adds, "with the gods lies dominion, and among men, fellowship."[80]

[77] Seneca, *Dial.* 1.2.4.

[78] Seneca, *Ep.* 95.53.

[79] Epictetus, *Diatr.* 2.20.6.

[80] Seneca, *Ep.* 41.2. Also Epictetus, *Diatr.* 3.24.64–66 (explaining that the wise example of Diogenes the Cynic endured hardships for the sake of others, regarding the whole world as his "fatherland").

3.3. Other Greco-Roman Features of *Pneuma*

3.3.1. The Genealogical and Reproductive Spirit (*Pneuma* and Seed)

One distinct area where the "materiality" of *pneuma* gains traction in the secondary literature regarding Paul is the subject of the transmission of *pneuma* as seed (in the sense of seminal reproduction).[81] Aristotle's epigenetic view of human reproduction, for example, depended on an "innate *pneuma*" (σύμφυτον) distinct from the external air (ἐπείσακτον), which interacted with the hot air of sperm (σπέρμα and alternatively γονή) and the heat of menstrual blood to form the basis of reproduction and the propagation of life.[82] Aristotle's view of conception departed from the competing Hippocratic concept of *pangenesis*—the belief that the seed carries the full material necessary to form one's descendants.[83] Drawing from this background, Matthew Thiessen's account of gentile reception of the *pneuma* surmises that Paul "depends upon a stream of biological understanding that believed that a man's descendants preexist inside him."[84] Under this theory, gentiles "are pneumatically placed in Christ, who is Abraham's seed and who at one time existed in Abraham," and therefore "become Abrahamic seed and find themselves to be in Abraham."[85]

[81] *Pneuma* importantly also arises in connection with the Roman practice of adoption (υἱοθεσία) in ways that are decidedly nonmaterial; see Robert Brian Lewis, *Paul's "Spirit of Adoption" in Its Roman Imperial Context* (London: T&T Clark, 2016).

[82] *Gen. an.* 2, 763b30–737a; on the role of *pneuma* in reproduction generally, see Shino Kihara, "The Physiology of *Pneuma* and the Relationship between Aristotle and Greek Medicine," *Journal of Philosophy and Ethics in Health Care and Medicine* 11 (2017): 33–40; also Anthony Preus, "Galen's Criticism of Aristotle's Conception Theory," *Journal of the History of Biology* 10, no. 1 (1977): 65–85.

[83] E.g., Hippocrates, *Morb. sacr.* 5; For discussion on ancient theories of conception, including pangenesis, epigenesis, and preformation, see Preus, "Galen's Criticism of Aristotle's Conception Theory"; Kihara, "Physiology of *Pneuma*"; Abraham P. Bos, "Aristotle on Soul and Soul-'Parts' in Semen (*Gen. an.* 2.1, 735a4–22)," *Mnemosyne* 62, no. 3 (2009): 378–400.

[84] Thiessen, *Gentile Problem*, 127. Thiessen also cites Seneca for support of idea that a contemporary of Paul thinks in pangenetic ways. Cf. *Nat. Quaest.* 3.29.3 ("In the semen there is contained the entire record of the man to be.").

[85] Thiessen, *Gentile Problem*, 162–63.

The medical writings of Galen and others further develop this view of seminal transmission of the *pneuma*.[86] Furthermore, these medical thinkers postulated that the *pneuma* is formed in the lungs and hearts where the external air is refined, forming vital *pneuma* (πνεῦμα τοῦ ζωτικοῦ), which in turn proceeds from the heart to the rest of the body through the arteries.[87] On a more general level, related to this is the idea that God is the progenitor of humanity, with *pneuma* serving as a part of the physical means by which men have come into being as his offspring. Dio Chrysostom, portraying the creation of the world, describes the process as follows:

> [Zeus] having made fluid [γονῇ] all his essence, one seed for the entire world [ἓν σπέρμα τοῦ παντός], he himself moving about in it like a spirit that moulds and fashions in generation [καθάπερ ἐν γονῇ πνεῦμα τὸ πλάττον καὶ δημιουργοῦν], then indeed most closely resembling the composition of the other creatures, inasmuch as he might with reason be said to consist of body and soul, he with ease moulds and fashions all the rest.[88]

Recently, several other proposals within Pauline studies have attributed some of this material regarding *pneuma* and sexual reproduction to inform Paul's own language concerning "the seed of Abraham" and Paul's language of genealogy (principally in Galatians 3). Jeremy Barrier explores the manner in which ancient Greek philosophical and medical ideas concerning the *pneuma* shaped Paul's own understanding of how *pneuma* forms "sons of Abraham" by means of the "*sperma*."[89] Barrier proposes that the "nations are 'blessed' through the passing down of a *pneuma-enriched sperm*" so

[86] See Galen, *De Semine* 1.16; also Preus, "Galen's Criticism of Aristotle's Conception Theory," 80–85.

[87] Galen, *De Semine* 1.16.30.

[88] Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses* 36.57; also Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses* 31–36; also Epictetus, *Diatr.* 1.3 ("We are all primarily begotten of God, and that God is the father of men as well as of gods" [ὅτι γεγόναμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πάντες προηγουμένως καὶ ὁ θεὸς πατήρ ἐστι τῶν τ᾽ ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν θεῶν]).

[89] Jeremy W. Barrier, "Jesus' Breath: A Physiological Analysis of Πνεῦμα within Paul's Letter to the Galatians," *JSNT* 37, no. 2 (2014): 115–38.

that "Abraham's *pneuma* was being passed on from one generation to the next."[90]

This discussion anticipates what must be reserved in a fuller elaboration of Paul's understanding of gentile believers as "sons of Abraham," who like Isaac, are understood to be born according to the Spirit (κατὰ πνεῦμα) (Gal 3:29).[91] From what little we have reviewed in Paul to this point, we should only note that in Pauline language, *pneuma* itself is never described in terms of "seed" or "sperm" (an assumption upon which the material *pneumatic* arguments on genealogy depend). The *pneuma* for Paul is *sent* from God, and is *received* into the hearts of his people, but this sending and receiving is shaped by and conditioned principally by "the Spirit of the Son" in Pauline formulations. The logic of this construction is such that the *Spirit* does not explicitly cause or establish the status as "sons of God," but more precisely testifies to that new relationship.[92]

3.3.2. One Spirit, a Holy Spirit, and the Spirits of the "Spirit World"

As we conclude this section on the significance of "oneness" and *singularity* in the comparative literature, some recognition is owed to the literary evidence that reveals not a singularity of *pneuma* but rather a complex of an entire "spirit world." Clint Tibbs argues "the notion that there was only one unique Holy Spirit is hardly sustainable for the first century."[93] Instead it is urged that "in the first century there

[90] Barrier, "Jesus' Breath," 127. Barrier wrongly cites John Anthony Dunne's work for the claim that "in Gal. 4.6 *pneuma* comes from the mouth of the crucified Jesus (Dunne 2013: 3–16) as he cries 'Abba, Father.'" Dunne only suggests that the ἀββα cry of Gal 4.6 is a cry of suffering that corresponds to Jesus' own suffering. See John Anthony Dunne, "Suffering in Vain: A Study of the Interpretation of Πάσχω in Galatians 3.4," *JSNT* 36, no. 1 (2013): 10.

[91] See the discussion in § 6.3.

[92] See § 6.3.3.

[93] Clint Tibbs, *Religious Experience of the Pneuma: Communication with the Spirit World in 1 Corinthians 12 and 14* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 71. On the significance of the "spirit world" in Pauline thought, see in particular Guy Williams, *The Spirit World in the Letters of Paul the Apostle: A Critical Examination of the Role of Spiritual Beings in the Authentic Pauline Epistles* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009); also Clint Tibbs, "The Spirit (World) and the (Holy) Spirits among the Earliest Christians: 1 Corinthians 12 and 14 as a Test Case," *CBQ* 70, no. 2 (2008): 313–30.

was no divine Person known as 'the Holy Spirit' who was distinguished from other holy spirits."[94] By this he refers not simply to the various spirit beings that populate the ancient world (whether angels, demons, the *stoicheia*, and the like), but to Paul's own idiom of the *pneuma* of God (πνεῦμα θεοῦ, πνεῦμα ἅγιον, and the like), which should be less informed by later trinitarian orthodoxy concerning the singular personhood of a "Holy Spirit" and more informed by the textual and philological clues of early Judaism and Greco-Roman antiquity. Taken together, at least so the argument goes, these sources indicate that Paul did not portray a numerically singular *pneuma*, but a concert of many spirit beings that work together "as one" for the cause of Jesus Christ over against the evil spirits that oppose him.[95]

In Pauline usage, scholars emphasizing this aspect of *pneuma* pay particular attention to the grammatical variety of Paul's references to what is often simply translated "the Spirit" or "the Holy Spirit" in English translations. Paul's own handling of *pneuma* language employs an apparently unsystematic array of constructions, whether articular, anarthrous, singular, and plural. Williams observes that there is only one reference in Paul's letters to "the Holy Spirit" (τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος) (2 Cor 13:13) and that he typically favors anarthrous constructions when speaking of the spirit.[96] It is argued that while Paul could have made the necessary linguistic distinctions between plural spirits from God and "the Spirit of God," he appears to have made no efforts to do so.[97]

These arguments against an anachronistic theological construct foisted onto Paul's pneumatology are well-taken. However, insofar as these arguments deny an identifiable and stable identity in Paul's references to "holy spirit," they are likely to confuse the issues more than elucidate them. Certainly Paul takes for granted a spirit world filled

[94] Tibbs, "Spirit (World)," 320.

[95] Williams, *Spirit World*; Tibbs, *Religious Experience of the Pneuma*.

[96] Williams, *Spirit World*, 23–24.

[97] So Williams, *Spirit World*, 24 ("Without any kind of dogmatic motivation for doing so, Paul made no effort to distinguish between spirits from God and the Spirit of God"). Cf. Émile Puech, "L'esprit saint à Qumran," *Liber Annuum* 49 (1999): 291 ("L'esprit saint n' est jamais distinct de Dieu d'ou il provient et dont il est une des manifestations de sa presence dans le cœur de l'homme").

with diverse δαιμονίοις, ἄγγελοι, and στοιχεῖα, but importantly, Paul uses precisely these terms to describe them.[98] Nevertheless, Paul's view of Spirit is preeminently shaped by the risen Christ. It is "the spirit of the Son" (Gal 4:6) and "the Spirit of Christ" (Rom 8:9) that Paul names. The collocation of "holy spirit" in Pauline use, whether articular or anarthrous, bear a wide consistency of both reference and mode of locution.[99] Given the fact that "holy spirit" can be referred to without further explanation in his letters serves as evidence that its identity and role in the community was already well-known and understood. This favors a finding of spirit language bearing a stable referentiality of identity (rather than indicating a diverse set of related spirits).

The identity of *pneuma* is also assumed in Paul's language of "one Spirit." That there is "one Spirit" in whom all believers are baptized (1 Cor 12:13), and "one Spirit" whom all believers should "stand in" (Phil 1:27), assumes a sharing in the same, singular reality rather than a diverse multiplicity of spirit experiences or spirit beings. Paul can speak of a discernment of the spirits (1 Cor 12:10) and can make a distinction between a spirit of the world in distinction with the "spirit received from God" (1 Cor 2:12; 1 Thess 4:8; 2 Cor 11:4). This confirms that Paul trusts the community to identify the Holy Spirit, which is capable of being distinguished from other spirits—bearing an identity that can be discerned, tested, and confirmed.[100] For Williams and Tibbs, while they may validly report that Paul can speak of a variety of good spirits, their advocacy of a broad "spirit world" to capture Paul's *pneuma* discourse does not sufficiently account for those places Paul unquestionably speaks of the *pneuma* as a single entity (1 Cor 2:12), personified with agential will (1 Cor 12:11) and marked by an active ministry on behalf of God's people (Rom 8:26).

[98] Demons: 1 Cor 10:20–21; angels: Rom 8:38; 1 Cor 4:9; 6:3; 13:1; 2 Cor 11:14; Gal 1:8; Gal 3:19; *stoicheia*: Rom 4:12; Gal 4:3; 4:9; 5:25; 6:16; Phil 3:16. On the *stoicheia* as "evil spirits" rather than a reference to elemental principles, see Clinton E. Arnold, "Returning to the Domain of the Powers: Stoicheia as Evil Spirits in Galatians 4:3,9," *NovT* 38 (1996): 55–76.

[99] Rom 5:5; 9:1; 14:17; 15:13; 15:16; 1 Cor 6:19; 12:3; 2 Cor 13:13; 1 Thess 1:5; 4:8.

[100] On the motif of the discernment of the spirits, see notably André Munzinger, *Discerning the Spirits: Theological and Ethical Hermeneutics in Paul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

3.3.3. The Greek Magical Papyri and the Plurality of *Paredroi*

The discussion of Paul's identification of "one spirit" also signals a profound departure from the way ancient magical texts describe a plurality of "spirits" in religious and daily life. To the extent that the evidence found within the Greek magical papyri gives us some insight into the common folk belief of the time and area concerning the *spirits*,[101] we learn of numerous references to the *paredroi* (πάρεδροι) (helper spirits or "divine assistants") who could be summoned by rite or spell to assist the supplicants in their various needs.[102] One text describes the *paredros* to be "a god [ὁ θεός]; [who] is an aerial spirit [πνεῦμα ἐστιν ἀέριον]" (*PGM* 1.96).[103] When the sacred rite is summoned, the familiar spirit performs helpful tasks of all kinds. Notably, this divine assistant spirit

[101] On the relevance of this collection of sources of Egyptian provenance for Pauline communities and New Testament study, see Ronald S. Stroud, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: The Inscriptions* (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2013), 83, 153–57. The critical Greek text and notes are available at Karl Preisendanz, ed., *Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2 vols. (1928–31; repr., Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001); for translation and notes, see Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation: Including the Demotic Spells: Texts*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). On the evidence of magical practice in Roman Corinth, see Stroud, *Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore*, 83, 153–57.

[102] For a fuller discussion of the *paredroi*, see Leda Jean Ciraolo, "Supernatural Assistants in the Greek Magical Papyri," in *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, ed. Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki (Boston: Brill Academic, 1995), 155–65; see also Clinton E. Arnold, *Ephesians* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Academic, 2010), 233. The term itself literally means to "sit beside or near," from the verb παρεδρεύω, "to wait or attend upon." See LSJ, s.v. πάρεδρος and παρεδρεύω. In the Greek magical papyri, the term commonly refers to a "supernatural assistant who serves the practitioner of magic." Ciraolo, "Supernatural Assistants," 279. However, the term can also refer to the god Eros, to other *daimones*, to the spell itself, or to the deity who manifests as a different entity. On this, see especially Eleni Pachoumi, "Divine Epiphanies of Paredroi in the Greek Magical Papyri," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 51, no. 1 (2011): 155–65.

[103] Also *PGM* 1.128–29, where the *paredros* is referred to as "the most powerful *paredros*, also the only Lord of the air" (ὁ κράτιστος πάρεδρος οὗτος, ὁ καὶ μόνος κύριος τοῦ ἀέρος). Again, the relational hierarchy or equality of *paredros* with divine beings is not always clear in these texts, although the most common occurrences are in the form of helper spirits that are sent from the gods, but at times so present as to manifest the divine presence; cf. Pachoumi, "Divine Epiphanies."

can "quickly bring *daimones* [δαίμονας]" and can also "stop very many evil *daimones*" (1.116). Indeed, the opening rite of the collection of magical papyri explains that this assistant *daimon* "will be your companion and will eat and sleep with you" (1.1–2).

There are indeed inviting similarities between the πάρεδροι of the Greek magical texts and the παράκλητος (cf. John 14:16; 15:26) of later traditions of the New Testament. Both spirits are sent from ὁ θεός, both can be described as "coming alongside" the petitioner, and both are understood to provide significant comfort and assistance to the supplicant. To be observed, however, is the numerosity and diversity of such spirits in the magical papyri that may be called upon by the practitioner of magic for the assistance of various needs and tasks. As we have argued, it is important for Paul that there is "one Spirit" that can be distinguished from "another Spirit" (2 Cor 11:4). This identifiable *pneuma* can be distributed and apportioned among many persons, to be sure, but for Paul, just as many fires can be shared from a single flame without diminution to the original: there is "one and the same Spirit" (1 Cor 12:11) who gives gifts and empowerment to different members of the body.[104]

3.4. Conclusions

This chapter has sought to develop some important ways in which *pneuma* is understood and discussed in prominent Greco-Roman texts leading up to the time of Paul. In keeping with the larger study, this chapter has focused on the unitive aspects of the *pneuma* as well as the relationship between *pneuma* and divinity insofar as they are discussed in such terms.

Because of Stoicism's profound reliance on *pneuma* as a structuring and animating principle in its system of thought, the bulk of the attention was devoted to this literature and its antecedents. For the Stoics, the *pneuma* is in everything and is everywhere, promoting the cosmic respiration of the universe while also infusing life into every human, binding them into a common humanity. In this system of

[104] Cf. Philo, *Giants* 25 ("But think not that this taking of the spirit comes to pass as when men cut away a piece and sever it. Rather it is, as when they take fire from fire, for though the fire should kindle a thousand torches, it is still as it was and is not diminished not a whit.").

thought, *pneuma* is at once cosmology and anthropology and ethics; it is the stuff of the universe and the divine spark that leads practitioners of the Stoic way of life up the ascent to *eudaimonia*, fuller wisdom, and their modulation into purer pneumatic quality.

Beyond the Stoic literature, we are reminded of an active and diverse world of spirits discussed in the Greco-Roman texts. The spirits could be invoked for prophetic oracles, as helping companion spirits, or even as healing spirits. The ancient medical texts indicate that *pneuma* could be breathed in as a vapor, or absorbed through the skin, or ingested through other forms of food and drink. Aristotle and his interlocutors paved pathways for *pneuma* to be readily discussed in terms of reproductive seed and the vital principles of life in procreation. These notions in turn helped shape ideas regarding the pneumatic constituency of human beings and were also instrumental to Stoic accounts of how baser densities ascend to more pneumatic and purer states of being.

4
Christ, the Spirit, and God's Temple

> To the church of God that is in Corinth, to those who are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, together with all those who in every place call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, both their Lord and ours.
>
> 1 Corinthians 1:2

The constructive thesis for this study follows the shape and logic of unity around the associated Pauline ideas of the *pneuma*, union with Christ, and God's temple as they arise in the Corinthian letters. In summary form, Paul relies on the Spirit to establish a mode of uniting Christ's presence with his people. This union is given definition and form by appeal to various imagery associated with the temple and the maintenance of sacred space. In sum, the primary shape of Paul's unity discourse is spiritual, and the nature of that spirituality is cultic and mediatorial around the figure of Christ. For this reason, Paul's identification of "one Spirit" as the basis for the joining of the many members into "one body" whether "Jews or Greeks, slaves or free" should be read within the larger spatial dimensions of Paul's imagery concerning "the body of Christ," "the temple of God," and the members of this body who are instructed to mutually "build up" this body in love. In this unity, "neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is anything" (1 Cor 7:19), but by the Spirit they are "one in Christ Jesus" (1 Cor 12:13; Gal 3:28). These relational images expressed in terms of spatiality should give pause to Pauline readings of unity that emphasize the spiritual formation of a "third race" that is neither Jew nor gentile. Instead of forging a new unity

that merely draws from categories of ethnicity and genealogy, Paul relies on Spirit to re-create a new conception of sacred space that is capable of holding together the differences of Jews and gentiles in worship of the same God—variegated cultic expressions within a common faith. The cultic realization of this Spirit-union does not serve to supersede the relevance of the Jerusalem temple or Jewish traditions, but, as will be argued, establishes a new covenant that expects both Jew and gentile to "uphold the law," however provisionally, until Christ's return.

In pursuing this argument, particular attention will be directed toward clarifying the relationship between "Spirit" and temple in Paul's discourse. For many, Spirit is the sufficient condition for the establishment of Paul's idea of temple. Gordon Fee's comments on 1 Corinthians 3:16 (and 6:19) concerning the spirit and temple are representative of this principle: "The presence of the Spirit, and that *alone*, marks them off as God's new people, God's temple, when assembled in Christ's name in Corinth."[1] Adding to the confusion, Paul's temple language is often understood to apply both to the individual and the community in a mutually open concept.[2] Alternatively, instead of that which demarcates God's temple, other scholars contend that Paul uses the *pneuma* to signify a way of metaphorically comparing the new messianic community with the Jerusalem temple. So says Fredriksen: "Paul praises the new community by likening it to something that he values supremely—the sanctity,

[1] Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014), 160; see also, e.g., N. T. Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2013), 712 ("The indwelling of the spirit constituted the long-awaited return of YHWH to Zion"); Nicholas Perrin, *Jesus the Temple* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2010), 70 ("Where the spirit settles, there one finds the temple").

[2] E.g., Fee, *First Corinthians*, 291 ("In referring to the body as the temple of the Spirit, Paul has taken the imagery that properly belongs to the church as a whole and in this single instance applied it to the individual believer") (citations omitted); also Hans Conzelmann, *First Corinthians* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 112; Wright, *PFG*, 712–13; Nijay K. Gupta, "Which 'Body' Is a Temple (1 Corinthians 6:19)? Paul beyond the Individual/Communal Divide," *CBQ* 72, no. 3 (2010): 531.

dignity, and probity of the temple cult."[3] Both approaches seem to ignore the larger network of ideas in Paul's Corinthian correspondence that give shape to his characterization of worshipping communities "in Christ." In conjunction with the temple that stands in Jerusalem, Paul regards Christ himself to be the locus of the heavenly reality of God's temple presence with his people. That believers are deemed to be the temple depends on the premise that they are joined to Christ by the Spirit.

The next two chapters will seek to sharpen our understanding of Paul's *pneuma* discourse as it pertains to these larger points concerning the temple, and with it, the dynamics of his teaching on unity. The shape of this argument will be structured in three main movements:

1. Paul regards Christ's presence with his people in terms of a heavenly temple.
2. The Spirit provides the means for Christ to be present with his people and establishes the ethos for the community in terms of temple and the duties surrounding the "building up" of the body.
3. The new cultic assembly in Christ did not signal an erasure or transcendence of ethnic distinctions, but rather an accommodation of these differences, particularly in the distinctive worshipping practices of Jews and gentiles in joint worship of the same Lord.

4.1. Overview of 1 Corinthians—Union, Fellowship, and Relational Structures

As a way of orientation, this chapter begins with establishing the ways in which Paul sets up 1 Corinthians around the theme of worship, *fellowship*, and unity—paying close attention to how Paul directs their relational patterns and allegiances (whether by leaders, patrons, or their union with Christ). These are themes that continue to develop in 2 Corinthians. The second section then tracks the Corinthian correspondence along the lines of the first two movements of the

[3] Paula Fredriksen, *Paul: The Pagans' Apostle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 154; also Kathleen Troost-Cramer, "De-Centralizing the Temple: A Rereading of Romans 15:16," *JJMJS*, no. 3 (2016): 71–101.

thesis: first, that Christ himself is understood as the locus of sacred space; and second, that the Spirit is the means by which this pattern of sacred space is realized in the churches. This section concludes with drawing out the logic of how Paul uses this relational-spatial complex to address the underlying concern of disunity and discord at Corinth, but with special emphasis on the Jewish–gentile character of that discord.

4.1.1. The Call of Both Jews and Greeks (1 Cor 1)

The beginning of 1 Corinthians is distinctive for its cultic call to worship, evocative of key scriptural themes pertaining to sacred space. This is demonstrated in the opening verse (1 Cor 1:2): "To the church of God that is in Corinth, to those who are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, together with all those who in every place call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, both their Lord and ours." Scholars have observed that the collocation of "calling" (ἐπικαλέω), "name" (ὄνομα), "Lord" (κύριος), and "place" (τόπος) matches temple worship formulae throughout the LXX, often expressed in the Deuteronomic refrain "the place that the Lord will choose, to make his name dwell there."[4] The opening further evokes a rich and potentially meaningful weave of scriptural themes that converge on sacred space, the eschatological pouring of the Spirit, and the praise of the gentiles (the nations) in Israel's midst. The phrase "in every place" (ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ) in collocation with the "name of the Lord" likely alludes to Malachi 1:11[LXX], an utterance that looks to an eschatological time when "in every place [ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ] incense is offered to [his] name; for [his] name is great among the nations." Importantly, in the New Testament, the allusion to "the saints in every place" is found only in the Pauline corpus (also 2 Cor 2:14; 1 Thess 1:8; cf. 1 Tim 2:8) and is consistently used to express the worship of God that spreads around the nations in keeping with Paul's gentile mission.[5]

[4] Roy E. Ciampa and Brian S. Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 34–35; also Nijay K. Gupta, *Worship That Makes Sense to Paul: A New Approach to the Theology and Ethics of Paul's Cultic Metaphors* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 62–64; cf. Deut 12:11, 21, 26; 14:23–24; 16:2, 6, 11; 2 Chr 6:20; Isa 18:7; Jer 7:14.

[5] See Ciampa and Rosner, *Corinthians*, 34. The litany of texts in Rom 15:9–12 likewise conveys Paul's fixation with the worship and praise of the

Furthermore, while the expression "calling upon the name" is a widespread scriptural refrain, its connection to this context evoke not only the first scriptural account of sacred space, when Abraham first begins to call on the name of the LORD upon a prototypical altar (Gen 13:4), but also appear to invoke prophetical allusions to a time when God pours out the Spirit on all flesh and "everyone who calls on name of the LORD will be saved" (Joel 3:1–5[LXX]). Zephaniah 3:9–10 likewise portrays a time of eschatological judgment when the nations "bring their offering to the Lord" and their *speech* is changed "to a pure speech, that all of them may call on the name of the LORD and *serve him with one accord*." In this densely packed introductory statement, we find, then, Paul painting a scriptural portrait of the "nations" offering worship to the Lord, not in a singular place of worship that was revealed only to Israel—the place where his Name dwells—but now in *every place* where the saints *call upon the name of the* LORD. In this cultic context, the "Nations" are alluded to as those worshipping the Lord in every place and (if Zephaniah is in view) serving him in "one accord."

The density of "call" language in these opening verses should also not be missed. Paul is "called" (κλητὸς) to be an apostle (1:1). The church in Corinth is "called to be saints" (κλητοῖς ἁγίοις) together with all the ones who "call on the name of the Lord" (τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις) (1:2). They are "called [ἐκλήθητε] into the fellowship of his Son" (1:9). It is with this introductory material that Paul exhorts his hearers to "consider [their] call" (Βλέπετε γὰρ τὴν κλῆσιν ὑμῶν) (1:26) in the midst of his discourse on wisdom and God's election (1:17–2:16). What is of signal importance is that the "calling" at issue expressly names a calling of both Jews and gentiles in furtherance of the opening themes of the worship of the gentiles (1:23–24): "For Jews demand signs and Greeks desire wisdom, but we proclaim Christ crucified, a stumbling block to Jews and foolishness to Gentiles, *but to those who are called*, *both Jews and Greeks*, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God."

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gentiles "with his people" (Rom 15:10). In this passage he views his own ministry "in the priestly service of the gospel of God, so that the offering of the Gentiles may be acceptable" (15:16). The other occurrence with a similar set of collocated terms is Exod 20:24, where the instructions for altars are given; the LORD says to Moses, "in every place where I cause my name to be remembered, I will come to you and bless you."

This point naturally raises the question of whether Paul wrote to a Corinthian church (or churches) that included both Jews and gentiles together or simply exclusively gentiles and Godfearers. The matter is of considerable debate, both in the Corinthian letters and across the Pauline corpus.[6] While our analysis does not hinge on the presence of Jewish believers in Corinth, the evidence marshals in favor of such a finding. Philo lists Corinth among the diaspora regions in which Jews have settled.[7] Josephus reports that some six thousand Jewish slaves were put to work on the Corinthian isthmus under the order of Vespasian during the reign of Nero (ca. 54–68 CE). The well-known synagogue inscription [ΣΥΝ]ΑΓΩΓΗΗΕΒΡ[ΑΙΩ] provides probative evidence of a significant Jewish community in the region, although wide disagreement in its dating prevents any finding in favor of a first-century provenance.[8] Looking to the New Testament evidence,

[6] E.g., E. P. Sanders, "Paul's Attitude toward the Jewish People," *USQR* 33, no. 3–4 (1978): 178 ("It is an argument from silence, but nevertheless a striking one, to observe that there is not a single passage to indicate that there was a single Jewish member in any of the churches founded by Paul"). More recently scholars are laying great store in the exclusively gentile composition of Pauline *ekklēsiai* and its resulting impact on Pauline interpretation. E.g., Rafael Rodriguez and Matthew Thiessen, *The So-Called Jew in Paul's Letter to the Romans* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2016); also Runar M. Thorsteinsson, *Paul's Interlocutor in Romans 2: Function and Identity in the Context of Ancient Epistolography* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2003). Against this, see also the arguments from Peter Richardson, "On the Absence of 'Anti-Judaism' in 1 Corinthians," in *Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity: Paul and the Gospels*, ed. Peter Richardson and David Granskou, vol. 1 (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1986), 59–74.

[7] *Legat.* 281–82. Less specific (but not less hyperbolic) is the report of Strabo (by way of Josephus) who indicates the ubiquity of Jewish settlements throughout the inhabited world. Cf. John M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE–117 CE)* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 10.

[8] The disagreement in dating owes in part to the problematic history of biblical scholarship and archaeology (particularly in sites like Corinth), which is not immune to vested interests and ideological constraints on various sides. On this see notably Cavan W. Concannon, "The Archaeology of the Pauline Mission," in *All Things to All Cultures: Paul among Jews, Greeks, and Romans*, ed. Mark Harding and Alanna Nobbs (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013); cf. Bradley J. Bitner, *Paul's Political Strategy in 1 Corinthians 1–4: Constitution and Covenant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 91–101.

Bitner observes that "Philo, Luke, and Paul each supply, in varying detail, information that alleges and presumes the presence of a Jewish community in first-century Corinth."[9] The weight of the evidence is such that we may conclude with Horrell that "the Corinthian Christian community certainly contained both Jews and Gentiles, though mostly the latter (1 Cor 12:2)."[10] More important than the compositional audience, however, is the leading ideas from 1 Corinthians 1 that draws out a temple context in its call to "Jews and Greeks," and to all saints in every place who call upon the name of the Lord.

4.1.2. Establishing the Larger Context and Theme: Fellowship with the Son

Not only does 1 Corinthians begin with cultic overtones, but it quickly establishes the idea of fellowship with Christ as an overarching theme.

[9] Bitner, *Political*, 91. Bitner also observes a "distinctive covenantal accent" in the text of 1 Corinthians, couched in the familiar Deuteronomic framework of oath, stipulation, sanction, embodied practice, ritual instruction, and blessings and curses that are written "in terms explicable largely, if not solely, to Jews and those conversant with the Jewish scriptures and their covenantal discourse" (88). Bitner relies in significant part on the thesis of David Lincicum, who argues that the Corinthian correspondence interacts extensively with the Deuteronomic material, not simply in an unreflective manner, but in a series of embodied practices that revive for a new audience the experience of covenantal obligation and loyalty—what he calls "the liturgical-anamnetic" experience of Deuteronomy. Cf. David Lincicum, *Paul and the Early Jewish Encounter with Deuteronomy* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), esp. 119–66. Cf. R. W. L. Moberly, "Toward an Interpretation of the Shema," in *Theological Exegesis: Essays in Honor of Brevard S. Childs*, ed. Christopher R. Seitz and Kathryn Greene-McCreight (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999); see also Grant Macaskill, "The Way the One God Works: Covenant and Ethics in 1 Corinthians," in *One God, One People, One Future: Essays in Honor of N. T. Wright*, ed. John Anthony Dunne and Eric Lewellen (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2018), 112–25 (developing Moberly's thesis in conversation with the narratival scheme of N. T. Wright).

[10] David G. Horrell, *The Social Ethos of the Corinthian Correspondence Interests and Ideology from 1 Corinthians to 1 Clement* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 75; also Richardson, "1 Corinthians," 59–74; on the contrary position, see, e.g., Benjamin W. Millis, "The Social and Ethnic Origins of the Colonists in Early Roman Corinth," in *Corinth in Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society*, ed. James C. Walters, Daniel N. Schowalter, and Steven J. Friesen (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 30; Richard M. Rothaus, *Corinth, the First City of Greece: An Urban History of Late Antique Cult and Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 31.

I join those interpreters viewing 1 Corinthians as an integrative whole, wherein its various sections demonstrate meaningful thematic interconnection, primarily around the theme of unity, or perhaps better, κοινωνία.[11] Many of the integrationist theories now follow in the vein of Margaret Mitchell's influential work, naming the theme of unity as central to the rhetorical aims of the letter, patterned as they were after Greco-Roman rhetorical appeals to ὁμόνοία and συμφέρον (mutual advantage).[12] Mitchell identifies the so-called thesis statement of the letter in the statement in 1 Corinthians 1:10, underscoring Paul's appeal for unity: "I appeal to you, brothers, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that all of you agree, and that there be no divisions among you, but that you be united in the same mind and the same judgment."[13] While important, elevating this particular sentence to a "thesis" or controlling principle perhaps ignores the function of how Paul seeks to establish this unity, particularly his appeal to their union to Christ and their fellowship (κοινωνία) by the Spirit.[14] The subject of internal division in the epistle appears more fundamentally to be a subset of concerns under the more dominant theme of union with Christ. The opening chapter spells out the benefit that they receive

[11] For a helpful summary of the major positions surrounding the structure and message of 1 Corinthians, see Matthew R. Malcolm, "The Structure and Theme of First Corinthians in Recent Scholarship," *CurBR* 14, no. 2 (2016): 256–69.

[12] Margaret Mary Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: An Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993). Mitchell's work is now broadly appealed to as evidence of the letter's unity even though many of these studies may or may not agree with the specific evidentiary features of Mitchell's claims regarding Paul's use of deliberative rhetoric. For an overview of the spread of interpretive options, see Malcolm, "Structure and Theme," 259ff.

[13] Of course, this is hardly a consensus position, and others have argued against any compositional or thematic unity (let alone deliberative rhetoric) beyond the ad hoc concerns the letter addresses. E.g., L. L. Welborn, "The Corinthian Correspondence," in *All Things to All Cultures: Paul among Jews, Greeks, and Romans*, ed. Mark Harding and Alanna Nobbs (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 205–42.

[14] This is also recognized by Victor Paul Furnish, *Theology of the First Letter to the Corinthians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 85 (noting that "one of the most pervasive and decisive themes" of the letter involves "belonging to Christ" as a means of "belonging to God" [3:23], by whom "all things are given and all things are claimed" [8:6]).

by virtue of being "in Christ" (1 Cor 1:4–5). It is "in Christ Jesus" that the Corinthians are "enriched in all speech and knowledge" and "lacking nothing" (1:4–7). Their being "in Christ" secures "wisdom from God, righteousness and sanctification and redemption" (1:30). It is the prospect of a "Christ divided" that causes Paul to appeal to unifying reconciliation among the factions (1:13). And it is the unthinkable possibility of a defiled Christ that draws out Paul's most serious warnings against immoral behavior (6:15–17). Paul draws out a relational matrix wherein harm against a brother "sin[s] against Christ" (8:12). Importantly the climax of Paul's opening prayer for the Corinthians closes with the declaration that they are "called into the fellowship of his Son, Jesus Christ" (1 Cor 1:9). This "in Christ" idea, *pace* Mitchell, comprises a more cohesive leading theme to 1 Corinthians and is better suited to serve as a thesis that frames the objective of his overall message.

Tying the sections of 1 Corinthians together are the relational structures among members of the community and the vital attachments they secure with key figures, leaders, or other individuals and practices. To correct the sectarian divisions in the community, he constantly reorients them back to the prescriptive way of ordering their relationships, beginning with their fellowship in Christ (1 Cor 1:9). Paul here operates with a relational anthropology that assumes that members of the *ekklesia* are deeply embedded within the matrix of their collective social ties and relations, in contrast to more individualistic or self-subsistent notions of the self.[15] The initial report of divisions within them is encapsulated by which leader certain groups associate under—I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, I am of Peter, I am of Christ (1 Cor 1:12). Rather than align themselves under charismatic individuals (reminding them that Paul and Apollos are merely "διάκονοι [servants] to the Lord"), Paul urges them to attach themselves principally to Christ in whom they have been baptized. Closing his remarks on the divisions from various leaders, Paul encourages them as follows: "Whether Paul or Apollos or Cephas or the world or

[15] This study works with a view of the participatory nature of the "person" as elucidated in Susan Grove Eastman, *Paul and the Person: Reframing Paul's Anthropology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2017), 9 ("There is no freestanding 'self' in Paul's letters. . . . Paul's anthropology is participatory all the way down").

life or death or the present or the future—all are yours and you are Christ's and Christ is of God" (1 Cor 3:22–23).

A similar application of Paul's participatory anthropology can be observed in Paul's discussion of immoral members in their community in 1 Corinthians 5. However one may understand the underlying immorality in this chapter, what is important for our purposes is the question "And you are puffed up [πεφυσιωμένοι], when you should rather mourn?" (5:2). The question indicates that not only are the Corinthians forbearing of the licentious behavior but in some way approving of the man in question. Chow's study,[16] following those contending for a background of patronage and benefaction at Corinth, connects the "arrogance" or "puffed-up" disposition of those who condone the immoral behavior with the context of the influence of powerful patrons in the church—maintaining their influence, freedom, and to some extent, authority in the face of flagrant immorality.[17] It could be that the Corinthian pride is not simply rooted in their libertarian freedom that they have distorted from the Christian gospel of forgiveness,[18] but rather from a context of economic dependence under influential patrons. The theory of honorific patronage may more satisfyingly explain the community's attitude toward this man and the improper relational ordering at Corinth.[19]

The pattern continues into the following chapters. Unauthorized sexual relations, addressed in the sixth chapter, are not simply a private matter, but bear community implications (1 Cor 6:16–18). Unbelieving spouses and children draw some protection by virtue of their connection to their believing spouse or parent (1 Cor 7:14). As a whole, Paul is consistently concerned with the ordering of their rela-

[16] John K. Chow, *Patronage and Power: A Study of Social Networks in Corinth* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992); on the background of patronage and benefaction in Pauline churches, see Bruce W. Winter, *Seek the Welfare of the City: Christians as Benefactors and Citizens* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994).

[17] Many commentators do not see patronage as lurking behind any of this discussion at all. E.g., Fee, *First Epistle*, 221; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 228–36.

[18] E.g., Fitzmyer, *Corinthians*, 235; Fee, *First Corinthians*, 221.

[19] So Richard Horsley, *1 Corinthians* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1998), 82 ("Perhaps, in the imperial society in which most poor people were economically dependent in some way on patrons, some in the assembly were economically dependent on this fellow").

tional patterns and the interconnected impact that these relationships have for the larger community. Whether the Corinthians are aligned under charismatic leaders, or influential men, or households, or civic rituals, the Corinthians are urged to reconfigure the priorities of their relationships so that they are properly joined to the Lord within a pure and faithful community in whom the holy *pneuma* dwells. The temple-oriented exhortations appeal to a mutual building up of the body at Corinth with Christ as its foundational and conceptual center. They are called to be saints, in fellowship with the Son (1:2, 9).

4.1.3. Κοινωνία

The language of *koinonia* (κοινωνία, as well as μετέχω and their cognates) supplies important terminology for Paul to develop his theme of unity in Christ in terms reflective of God's temple.[20] This finds confirmation in the relevant cultic inscriptive evidence.[21] In this group of literary evidence, κοινωνέω and κοινωνία can be seen in cultic contexts broadly denoting "participation in sacrifices."[22] Their uses in these contexts do not appear specialized in meaning, nor do they appear to connote any particular activity beyond simply partaking in cultic sacrifices. In several instances, esteemed guests

[20] Norbert Baumert has recently challenged the assumption that κοινωνέω and μετέχω and their cognates represent largely synonymous ideas. Norbert Baumert, *Koinonein und Metechein: Eine umfassende semantische Untersuchung* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2003), 290, 326–29, 11–20. Against this, interpreters continue to understand both terms as covering the same semantic range. E.g., Julien M. Ogereau, *Paul's Koinonia with the Philippians: A Socio-Historical Investigation of a Pauline Economic Partnership* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 326, 29 (concluding that the evidence of overlapping terms in the sources indicates that the two terms are "practical synonyms"); also Markus Nikkanen, "Participation in Christ: Paul and Pre-Pauline Eucharistic Tradition" (PhD diss., University of Aberdeen, 2018), 168–70.

[21] See in particular the cultic inscription evidence in Ogereau, *Paul's Koinonia*, 383–88; also Nikkanen, "Participation in Christ," 155–77.

[22] For κοινωνέω, see, e.g., IKosSegre 149, *Foundation for a Hero Cult* (ca. 300 BCE) ("[L]et not those participating in the sacrifices cultivate the land of the sanctuary"); IKosHK 4, *Asylum Decree of Thelphousa* (ca. 242 BCE) ("[T]hey have invited [the Thelphousians] to participate in the sacrifices"). See the documentary evidence of *koinonia* in the context of participation of sacrifices in the appendix of Ogereau's study on the κοινωνία word groups. See Ogereau, *Paul's Koinonia*, 355–58; also 385–90.

are "invited" or "called" to observe cultic activity. An inscription honoring Marcus Ulpius Eubiotus (ca. 230 CE) decreed that at the "invitation of the highest authorities," he and his sons are honored with the "privilege of the front seat and a *share* in the sacrifices and libations which occur at the religious processions and at the popular assemblies."[23] Similarly, in mystery cult settings, some of the inscriptions note that the gods "call" or invite participants to the temple banquet.[24] One invitation to the mysteries of Zeus Panamaros notes that God "always supplies this [call] to all mankind" but it is "especially to those for whom there is *participation* in the sacrifices [κοινωνία τῶν ἱερῶν]."[25] The collocation of "call" and *koinonia* in the temple in this inscription notably matches Paul's own language of calling and *koinonia* in 1 Corinthians 1:9, where believers are "called into the fellowship of the Son, Jesus Christ."

But even with locating "fellowship" in a temple context, a precise understanding of the vertical dimension of fellowship between divine and human participants remains challenging to grasp in Pauline discourse. Paul can flexibly speak of a fellowship of the gospel, of the "spirit," of the "Son," of suffering, of faith, among other uses.[26] Such a range of applications has prompted Horrell to conclude that *koinonia* entails "both vertical and horizontal dimensions, inextricably intertwined."[27] In the Corinthian letters, at least, what seems clear is that their *koinonia* is not merely in a common experience or belief, but a

[23] SEG 21.506; Ogereau, *Paul's Koinonia*, 383–84 (καὶ κοινωνίᾳ θυσιῶν τῶν ἔν τε πομπαῖς καὶ ἐκκλησιαις γεινομένων).

[24] SEG 4.247 and 4.250; Ogereau, *Paul's Koinonia*, 386–87.

[25] SEG 4.250.

[26] Cf. Phil 1:5; 2:1; Phlm 17; 1 Cor 1:9, 10:16; 2 Cor 13:13.

[27] David G. Horrell, *Solidarity and Difference: A Contemporary Reading of Paul's Ethics*, 2nd ed. (London: T&T Clark, 2015), 118. On horizontal and vertical aspects of κοινωνία, see also J. Smit, "'Do Not Be Idolaters': Paul's Rhetoric in First Corinthians 10:1–22," *NovT* 39, no. 1 (1997): 40–53 (expressing a priority of emphasis on the vertical, Christological components of κοινωνία over the social-horizontal); accord, Anthony C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 751; Josef Hainz, *Koinonia: "Kirche" als Gemeinshaft bei Paulus* (Regensburg: Putset, 1982), 90–132. On the view that Paul lacks any distinct vertical dimension in *koinonia*, see C. K. Barrett, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 2nd ed. (London: Continuum, 1994), 40; also James D. G. Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit: A Study of the Religious and*

participation in Christ and the Spirit themselves. Paul's benediction at the close of 2 Corinthians appeals to the "fellowship of the Holy Spirit" (ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος) (2 Cor 13:13). Similarly, the opening blessing in 1 Corinthians calls attention to the distinct calling of Corinthians into "the fellowship of his Son" (κοινωνίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) (1 Cor 1:9). The genitives expressed here (both of the *pneuma* and the Son) strongly suggest that what believers are sharing in is Christ himself or the "spirit."[28] And although genitives of person are rare,[29] it deserves recognition that Paul's idiolect with respect to participating in the body and the blood of the Lord is similarly rare in comparable literary texts and warrants a finding of Christ himself forming the basis of common participation. Paul appears to signal that the temple worship of God has been relocated from a place to a person. In this shift, the cult and its retinue now surround Jesus Christ himself. Accordingly, the new worship of God is recast in terms of interpersonal relationality—principally fellowship with the resurrected Christ through the Spirit.

Julien Ogereau's important study on *koinonia* in Philippians contends that the weight of the Greco-Roman papyrological and epigraphical evidence points to *koinonia* bearing a predominantly socioeconomic sense of legal-commercial partnership (or the Roman *societas*).[30] This finding fits well the themes and uses in Philippians,

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Charismatic Experience of Jesus and the First Christians as Reflected in the New Testament (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975), 261.

[28] See Grant Macaskill, *Union with Christ in the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 205, citing L. S. Thornton, *The Common Life in the Body of Christ*, 2nd ed. (London: Dacre Press, 1944), 44 ("A genitive following the word *koinonia* expresses . . . that which one partakes . . . the object shared").

[29] E.g., Heinrich Seesemann, *Der Begriff* ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ *im Neuen Testament* (Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1933), 51; cf. Baumert, *Koinonein und Metechein*, 423–24 (finding possible Paul's use of the genitive to refer to a participation in a person, namely Christ).

[30] Ogereau, *Paul's Koinonia*, 383–88; also David Daube, "Societas as Consensual Contract," *Cambridge Law Journal* 6, no. 3 (1938): 381–403. As it pertains to the context of κοινωνία, see also Paul J. Sampley, *Pauline Partnership in Christ: Christian Community and Commitment in Light of Roman Law* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980). See also F. Gerald Downing, "Review: Paul's Koinonia with the Philippians: A Socio-Historical Investigation of a Pauline Economic

which emphasizes the financial partnering that the churches in this area have supplied to Paul's ministry (Phil 4:14–20). Confining the term to the senses of partnership (*societas*) across the Pauline corpus is less convincing, however, when compared against the rich cultic themes evoked in the Corinthian letters.

Taken together, what results is neither a technical term nor a term of theological participation with highly specialized meaning, but one that draws on the common way of describing participation in temple activity. In the same way that one "runs a race" or "eulogizes a funeral" or "observes Sabbath," Paul's *koinonia* terminology serves as a way of describing how one engages in temple activity.[31] People are "called" to participation in the temple (κοινωνία τῶν ἱερῶν). The key development, for Paul, is that the temple worship is now distinctly interpersonal and relational, built around the set of relationships that the Corinthians share "in Christ."

4.2. Movement One: Christ as Temple in the Corinthian Correspondence

Having drawn out some of the participatory and cultic themes of 1 Corinthians in particular, we are better situated to lay out the principal argument. The first movement of the constructive thesis argues that Paul understood the bodily presence of Jesus in terms of God's temple dwelling with his people. We know that Paul tells the Corinthians that they are "God's Temple" (1 Cor 3:17), "the temple of the Holy Spirit" (6:19), and "the temple of the living God" (2 Cor 6:16). Some scholars are content to leave the shape of Paul's discourse here,[32] but this fails to track the associated complex of images that Paul lays out in the Corinthian letters. It is not the presence of the

Partnership," *JSNT* 37, no. 5 (2015): 88 ("Whether termed 'figurative' or 'metaphorical,' Paul's use extends a common idiom to a new and apparently unprecedented field"). This is not to say that Ogereau does not recognize the theological references that κοινωνία can bear in Paul's writings. Ogereau is careful to note the "semantic malleability" of the term and cautions against any singular and controlling view of the term. See *Paul's Koinonia*, 258–59.

[31] Nikkanen, "Participation," 177 ("Paul's [fellowship] terminology appears to be standard sacrificial language").

[32] See the introductory discussion in chapter 4 and the studies cited in nn. 1 and 2.

Spirit alone that is sufficient for Paul's designation of the community as the temple. Rather, Paul's Spirit unity language depends consistently upon the assumption that Christ himself signifies the heavenly temple, and it is only because the community is united to Christ by the Spirit that they are deemed God's temple. The reason Paul presents the arrangement in components rather than all at once will be discussed after our overview of the various strands is completed (see § 4.3.5). Part of the answer, as will be seen, is that Paul appears to give prominence to the role of the Spirit due to an imbalanced view of spiritual gifts among the Corinthians. The Spirit, Paul wants to emphasize, is "one and the same Spirit" (1 Cor 12:11) that works for the whole body of believers, a presence which they share together to draw out their distinct identity and ethos—God's temple. While in Paul's mind the Spirit demarcates the temple because it joins Christ's presence with his people, Paul abbreviates the connection in 1 Corinthians to accent the shared and distributed quality of the Spirit. The whole cultic arrangement is articulated in its fullest in 2 Corinthians 4–5, and to this we now turn.

4.2.1. 2 Corinthians 4–5—A House from God, Eternal in the Heavens

What Paul breaks out over a range of chapters in 1 Corinthians, he presents in a single passage in 2 Corinthians 4:16–5:10.[33] In this passage, Paul portrays the risen Christ as the locus of the future heavenly temple. In the intervening time, the Spirit bridges Christ's presence with his people in terms evocative of provisional sacred space. Importantly, Paul explains that "if the earthly tent we live in is destroyed, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands [ἀχειροποίητον], eternal in the heavens" (2 Cor 5:1). The "building from God" here refers to the presence of Christ himself, an awaited reality that in the interim is experienced by believers as an "earthly tent" mediated by the Spirit.[34] There are layers of complexity

[33] A similar rendering of these ideas is presented in Rom 8:1–31.

[34] Among these debates are the origins of Pauline dualism and his beliefs on intermediate states upon death. C. F. D. Moule explains, "I am not so simple as to imagine that I can provide clarity and precision where great scholars, past and present, have confessed to bewilderment." C. F. D. Moule, "St. Paul and Dualism: The Pauline Conception of Resurrection," *NTS* 12, no. 2 (1966): 106.

in this text that have been the subject of much debate. What is in focus here is less a matter of intermediate states and postmortem resurrection states of the individual believer,[35] but instead concerns the cluster of associations relating to body, dwelling, heavenly temple, and presence with the Lord. Paul here contrasts an earthly tent with a house in heaven *not made with hands*. He speaks of this heavenly dwelling as longed-for clothing that will remedy a form of nakedness, a state which is the cause of his present groanings.[36] The overall picture is one of progression from a union with Christ by the Spirit to one of union with Christ in the fullness of his personal presence.

In attempting to clean up the signal from the noise, it is helpful to visually arrange the various antitheses that Paul sets forth in 2 Corinthians 4:16–5:10:

4:16	Outer nature wastes away	Inner nature renews day by day
4:17	Tribulation	Glory
4:18	The seen is temporary	The unseen is eternal
5:1	Earthly tent	Building from God in the heavens
5:2–4	Naked/Unclothed	Clothed
5:4	Mortal	Life

[35] A good discussion of the prevailing interpretive views on offer for 2 Cor 4–5 is in Marvin C. Pate, *Adam Christology as the Exegetical and Theological Substructure of 2 Corinthians 4:7–5:21* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1991), 1–31. For examples of scholars pressing for a view that interprets being "absent from the body" in terms of some interim or intermediate state before final judgment, see John A. T. Robinson, *The Body* (London: SCM Press, 1952), 17, 77; Oscar Cullmann, *Christ and Time: The Primitive Christian Conception of Time* (1946), trans. Floyd V. Filson, rev. ed. (London: SCM Press, 1964), 238–42. See also E. Earle Ellis, "II Corinthians v. 1–10 in Pauline Eschatology," *NTS* 6, no. 3 (1960): 211–24.

[36] Scholars have observed a similar progression of ideas in Romans 8, where the gift of the *pneuma* gives life to dying bodies, promises the hope of resurrection and glory, and in the meantime offers hope for the things unseen rather than the seen (the latter of which is the context for present groaning and longing). Cf. Ellis, "Pauline Eschatology," 212.

5:6, 8	At home in the body, away from the Lord	At home with the Lord, away from the body
5:7	Walk by sight	Walk by faith

Importantly, that which is on the "heavenly" register (the column on the right) is characterized as being "at home with the Lord" and the state of being "away from the body." This in turn is linked with being clothed with a dwelling from God, eternal in the heavens. The life in the realm of "the seen" is marked by being "at home in the body," in a tent, marked by mortality. The realm of the unseen is the eternal and is paired with being "at home with the Lord." What is given prominence in the list of adversatives is the repetition of being "with the Lord," whether at home with him or away from him (vv. 5, 8).

The reference to the body as "tent" (σκήνος) is significant for its overtones to the temple. It is possible that Paul has in view a metaphor for mere earthly existence. For example, Plato describes the body as an "earthly tent" (γήϊνον σκήνος);[37] in the same way Hippocrates describes the "flight of the soul from the tent of the body" (ἀπολείπουσα ἡ ψυχὴ τὸ τοῦ σώματος σκῆνος).[38] This having been said, the evidence marshals in favor of a temple inflection in this passage. Paul does not simply use the term "tent" to describe the body, but rather the odd pleonasm ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους, which is woodenly translated as "our earthly dwelling of the tent." Crucially, this collocation is found in the Jewish Scriptures to address the Tent of Meeting, identifying the tabernacle in terms of the house of the Lord.[39] Numbers 9:15 explains that the tabernacle (ἡ σκηνή)

[37] *Axiochus* 366a; *Timaeus* 100a.

[38] Hippocrates, *Aphorisms* 7.37–38; cf. Wis 9:15 (φθαρτὸν γὰρ σῶμα βαρύνει ψυχήν, καὶ βρίθει τὸ γεῶδες σκῆνος νοῦν πολυφρόντιδα [the perishable body weighs down the soul and this earthly tent burdens the thoughtful mind]).

[39] See especially 1 Chr 6:32; 9:23; cf. Num 9:15. See also André Feuillet, "La demeure céleste et la destinée des Chrétiens: Exégèse de 'II Cor.', V, 1–10 et contribution à l'étude des fondements de l'eschatologie paulinienne," *RSR* 44, no. 3 (1956): 361 ("Mais Paul ne dit pas seulement comme les Grecs que notre corps est une tente [σκῆνος]; il use de l'expression curieuse 'maison de la tente' [οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους] qu'on ne retrouve ailleurs que dans la Bible").

was established with the cloud covering the tent (ἐκάλυψεν ἡ νεφέλη τὴν σκηνήν), the tent of the covenant (τὸν οἶκον τοῦ μαρτυρίου). That this is on the right track is confirmed by the adversative of the same verse, which completes the picture with explicit reference to the heavenly temple: "we have a dwelling from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens" (5:1).[40] The phrase "house not made with hands [ἀχειροποίητον]" finds important parallels throughout Scripture. We find similar language in Mark 14:58, referring to the idea that even if the present temple be destroyed, God will build another not made with hands (ἀχειροποίητον).[41]

Paul's overarching idea in this passage links the heavenly temple with the presence of Christ and links the earthly tabernacle also with the presence of Christ, only one mediated by the Spirit. In the transitional earthly period, the Spirit assures believers that they can still relate with Christ's sacred presence in a provisional manner analogous to Israel's tabernacle experience.[42] The attractiveness of "tabernacle" imagery to early Christians as compared to "temple" and "sanctuary" language in particular lay in its ability to name God's

[40] See also Gupta, "Which 'Body' Is a Temple (1 Corinthians 6:19)?" 531 ("[T]he cultic milieu is almost undeniable, given the immediate mention of the 'building from God'").

[41] Morna Hooker has recently speculated whether this overlap in temple imagery between Mark, Paul, and the Fourth Gospel indicates Paul's own familiarity with this tradition, one she claims the evidence points to as a genuine saying from Jesus. Morna D. Hooker, "'The Sanctuary of His Body': Body and Sanctuary in Paul and John," *JSNT* 39, no. 4 (2017): 357. Interestingly, there are numerous references in the LXX referring to cultic images, namely idols, as being merely "made by hands" (χειροποίητος), which further reinforces the cultic dimension to Paul's language here of the body, dwelling, and tent. Cf. Lev 26:1; Isa 2:18; 31:7; 46:6.

[42] Koester demonstrated that early Christian literature found value in tabernacle imagery precisely because it corresponded with the early Christian need for God's presence in a time of transition and change. Craig R. Koester, *The Dwelling of God: The Tabernacle in the Old Testament, Intertestamental Jewish Literature, and the New Testament* (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association, 1989), 184–86. Koester compares this usage with similar attitudes to tabernacle imagery reflected in later Old Testament and Second Temple Jewish literature.

formal presence with his people in the context of impermanence and awaiting a fuller consummation.[43]

For Paul, both the earthly and heavenly temple presence of Christ are not antithetical to each other but related along a single spectrum. The image Paul portrays is not that they will be merely "clothed" in heavenly dwelling, but "*further clothed*" (5:4), expressing a *down-payment* idea that began with the Spirit and seeks fulfillment along the same lines. The experiences are not two distinct ones, but the same one at different points along the way. Since Paul longs to be clothed in his future dwelling with the Lord, the image presumes that they are presently clothed with Christ by the Spirit in baptism (Gal 3:27; Rom 13:14; 1 Cor 12:12–13). The imagery of being clothed often serves as biblical locution for spirit endowment.[44] Whereas the baptism-unity formulation in 1 Corinthians 12:13 discusses baptismal unity in terms of spirit, the parallel formulation in Galatians 3:27 uses the locution of being clothed with Christ. Paul's message is that Christ's presence, already enjoyed in the present time, will be consummated with a fuller presence. That a conferred status is spoken of in both present and future terms is a familiar phenomenon in Pauline theology (i.e., the *already-not yet*).[45] Their "clothing" will be

[43] See also Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, "Cultic Language in Qumran and in the NT," *CBQ* 38, no. 2 (1976): 162 (explaining that early Christians did not "re-interpret cultic institutions and terminology" the way that contemporary Jewish literature did to characterize their own longing for a fuller restoration of God's presence with his people; they went further so as to "express a new reality in cultic language").

[44] E.g., Judg 6:34 ("The spirit of the Lord clothed Gideon"); also LAB 27:9 ("[Kenaz] was clothed with the spirit of power and was changed"); cf. John R. Levison, *Filled with the Spirit* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 174–75. Levison links the reference to ἐπενδύομαι (5:4) and its curious double prefix to convey the idea of being "further clothed," with the Dry Bones passage in Ezek 37, which conveys similar ideas of overlayering. In Ezek 37, God promises to cause breath to enter and "I will lay sinews upon you and will cause flesh to *come up upon you*, and I will stretch skin upon you" (Ezek 37:5–6). Flesh coming up upon the sinews, Levison contends, matches the Pauline idea of being clothed, and "further clothed" with heavenly dwelling. Whether or not this is correct, Levison's eye for such connections is remarkable.

[45] As an example, while believers in the Spirit receive the "spirit of adoption," they also "groan inwardly while [they] wait for adoption" (Rom 8:15, 23). Note the overlap of the groaning for the future expectation in both Rom 8:23 and

"further clothed" with their heavenly dwelling in Christ. This down-payment of the Spirit is not perfected by more of the Spirit, but with the return of Christ bodily, when believers will be at "home with the Lord" (5:8).

4.2.2. 1 Corinthians 3:11—Christ as the Cornerstone of the Temple in Paul

As was set forth in 2 Corinthians 4–5, Paul operates with virtually the same spirit-Christ-temple pattern in 1 Corinthians. However, it is presented in a more graduated manner throughout this letter. The first key development appears in the discussion of leaders in 1 Corinthians 3. Paul in this passage reveals knowledge of a tradition that names Christ himself as the foundation stone of God's restored temple.[46] In 1 Corinthians 3:11, Christ is named the "foundation" (θεμέλιον) of the building—an image that he develops with reference ultimately to the community itself as "God's temple" (v. 16).

Importantly, a parallel with this is found in Romans 9:33, where Paul explains the stumbling of Israel as follows: "As it is written, 'See, I am laying in Zion a stone [λίθον] that will make people stumble, a rock that will make them fall, and whoever believes in him will not be put to shame.'" Paul here combines two Isaianic passages (Isa 8:14 and 28:16) linked together by their use of both temple and stone imagery, which, consistent with Jewish exegesis, permits different passages of overlapping terms to form a mutually interpretive unit.[47] Strikingly, in the Isaiah 8:14a reference, God himself is identified as the sanctuary and the stumbling stone: "He will become a

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2 Cor 5:2. The Romans passage describes the *pneuma* as the first fruits (τὴν ἀπαρχήν) of the future reality, whereas 2 Cor 5:5 uses the analogous imagery of down payment (τὸν ἀρραβῶνα).

[46] See, e.g., Luke 20:17–18; Acts 4:11; 1 Pet 2:6–8. On the New Testament tradition of Christ as cornerstone of the temple and the logical development of this idea in these texts, see Macaskill, *Union with Christ*, 144–91; also the discussion in Hooker, "Sanctuary."

[47] The practice of *gezera shawa* constitutes one of the more familiar principles of Jewish and early Christian exegesis of biblical texts. Instone Brewer explains that *gezera shawa* is "the interpretation of one text in the light of another to which it is related by a shared word or phrase." David Instone-Brewer, *Techniques and Assumptions in Jewish Exegesis before 70 CE* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1992), 18; see also Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (repr.; Oxford:

sanctuary, a stone one strikes against."[48] Isaiah 28 looks ahead to a restoration of Israel, when the Lord will bring judgment and will be a "diadem of beauty to the remnant of his people" (v. 5). Importantly, the LXX describes this sure foundation both with the terms of foundation (θεμέλια), stone (λίθον), and cornerstone (ἀκρογωνιαῖον), the first two of which Paul uses in 1 Corinthians 3:11 and Romans 9:33, respectively. Furthermore, Paul also uses the language of σκάνδαλον to describe the stumbling of Israel, which Isaiah 8:14b anticipates: "For both houses of Israel, he [the Lord] will become a rock one stumbles over[49]—a trap and a snare for the inhabitants of Jerusalem." With respect to the Jews, Paul in 1 Corinthians describes the cross of Christ as "a stumbling stone to the Jews" (Ἰουδαίοις μὲν σκάνδαλον) and "foolishness to gentiles" (ἔθνεσιν δὲ μωρίαν) (1 Cor 1:23).

Paul's own combined references in Romans concerning the future temple and its foundation stone in Zion speak at once to Israel's own stumbling over Jesus Christ and to the inviolable symbol of hope that the temple signifies: the one who believes in him will not be put to shame (οὐ καταισχυνθήσεται) (Rom 9:33; Isa 28:16).[50] In 1 Corinthians 3, consistent with the Isaianic idea that the Lord himself will be the sanctuary, Paul names Christ as the only foundation for the temple (1 Cor 3:11) upon which the "churches" are built. Since

Clarendon Press, 1989), 156–57. The so-called seven principles of Hillel on Jewish interpretation are found in *t. Sanh.* 7.11; *Avot R. Nat.* 37.

[48] Cf. ἔσται σοι εἰς ἁγίασμα (Isa 8:14).

[49] On the traditions of "stone texts" in both Peter and Paul, see Frank Thielman, "Paul's View of Israel's Misstep in Rom 9.32–3: Its Origin and Meaning," *NTS* 64, no. 3 (2018): 362–77. The fact that both Peter and Paul both engage in the same curious combination of readings strongly suggests an earlier tradition and indicates its spread within early Christian traditions. So also Grant Macaskill, "Dynamic Reciprocity and Ontological Affinity in the Pauline Account of Solidarity," *IJST* 22, no. 1 (2020): 21–23. Cf. Ps 118:21–22 and the tradition of the "cornerstone" that the builders rejected in connection with Eph 2:20; 1 Pet 2:4–7; also Acts 4:11; Luke 20:17; Matt 21:42; Mark 12:10–11.

[50] The relationship between the restoration of God's dwelling and not being put to shame is an important refrain among the prophets. Importantly, Joel 2:27 pairs God's temple presence among Israel with the assurance that his people will not be put to shame. The same idea is expressed in Zeph 3:11. The Psalms are filled with these refrains in the context of "taking refuge" and putting their hope in the Lord and being rescued from shame. See, e.g., Pss 25:2, 20; 31:1, 17; 71:1; 119:116.

Christ himself is set apart as uniquely the foundation of the building of God,[51] it cannot follow for Paul that Christ's identification with the temple is descriptive or normative for believers or leaders. On the contrary, Paul places Christ in the architecture of the temple as irreplaceably foundational, tied to the prophetic image of the temple as eternal and enduring, and identified with the one in whom his people put their hope. Because Christ is the chief cornerstone of the temple, the logic follows that those who worship the Lord are drawn into the temple motif as those who "fellowship in the Son" and are "in Christ." The new temple complex is no longer merely a matter of physical space and rituals, but rather in socio-relational concepts, therefore necessitating a new set of cultic terminology recast in terms of "edifying" relationships, love, unity, and the joining together of people by the Spirit.

4.2.2.1. Christ's Presence and the Metaphor of the Body

In forwarding the argument that Paul regards Christ himself as signifying the preeminent place of the temple among his people, it is helpful to consider the likely difficult and potentially scandalous decision in these letters to closely associate the community of believers with the body of Christ. As our review of the Jewish temple has demonstrated, there is a long tradition of safeguarding the divine presence in reverential degrees of distance. In Scripture, it is not his whole being, but rather the eyes of God that will look upon the holy place (1 Kgs 8:29).[52] Only his "name" dwells in the sacred place (Deut 12:11; 26:2). To use Levenson's phrase, "his presence is not gross and tangible, but subtle and delicate."[53] To link, then, the Corinthian believers and their "body" with both "God's Temple" (1 Cor 3:17) and "the body of Christ" (1 Cor 12:27) would have undoubtedly raised the theological anxieties of early believers if not transgressed them altogether.

[51] 1 Cor 3:11 (θεμέλιον γὰρ ἄλλον οὐδεὶς δύναται θεῖναι παρὰ τὸν κείμενον, ὅς ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός).

[52] See the discussion of glory and presence in § 2.2.3.

[53] Jon D. Levenson, *Sinai and Zion* (New York: HarperCollins, 1987), 125; see also Benjamin D. Sommer, *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

To be clear, Paul develops the body metaphor so that just as a body has many parts, so it is with the Corinthians, who are to function as a unity in their diversity (1 Cor 12:12). But Paul goes one step further. The core identity marker as "the body of Christ" functions beyond analogical metaphor. They are not merely like the body of Christ, *that is what they are*. Paul uses copulative language to denote something qualitative to the identity of the Corinthians: "you are the body of Christ" (Ὑμεῖς δέ ἐστε σῶμα Χριστοῦ) (1 Cor 12:27). Erin Heim's study of Pauline metaphors reminds us that Paul adopts metaphors that renders "profound theological truths" that "cannot be communicated in any other way."[54] The only reason, it seems, that Paul would risk invoking such potentially problematic imagery was that there was no other way to express this idea. Christ is not analogous to the temple; for Paul, Christ *is* the temple. And if the Spirit joins his people to Christ, his people must also be understood in terms of Christ's temple and Christ's body. The provisions of temple worship are no longer a matter of stone and priestly apparatus, but of physical bodies, beginning with Christ himself as the chief cornerstone and the persons who are joined to him by the Spirit.

It is not argued here that temple serves as the controlling idea of Paul's larger theology and gospel message. Nor does this chapter defend the idea that "cultic imagery" or "temple logic" represents a consistent set of images that is reducible to a singular principle. Paul's letters, on the contrary, reveal a profound set of interconnected themes, motifs, and images that link up to form a wide array of theological ideas and applications. What this section more modestly proposes is that Christ signifies for Paul the conviction that God's presence abides with his people by the Spirit in terms dependent on the temple. Because God's presence is now with his people in Christ, this divine presence evokes cultic correspondences. Therefore, this presence requires drawing from a range of images, from Scripture, concerning how God's sacred presence is properly maintained in covenant communities. But because this presence is unlike any that has

[54] Erin M. Heim, *Adoption in Galatians and Romans: Contemporary Metaphor Theories and the Pauline* Huiothesia *Metaphors* (Leiden: Brill Academic, 2017), 2–3.

come before (in the form of Christ bodily), Paul must also creatively redraw the symbology of sacred space to include innovative associations with other images such as body, members, love, edification, and, of course, Spirit.

Importantly, Paul does not seem to draw from these sources in a discernibly systematic or systemizable way. Christ's temple presence is developed by Paul around a complex, even asymmetrical configuration of Jewish temple ritual and sacrifices that elude summarization into a clear system.[55] Christ can be described as the foundation of the temple (1 Cor 3:11), or he can be the glory within the temple (2 Cor 3:18), or he can be described as the heavenly dwelling itself (2 Cor 5:1–5). Even the rituals pertaining to Paul's "cultic imagery" similarly evade a form of consistency one might expect from a careful reader of the Jewish Scriptures. The rendering of Paul's use of περὶ ἁμαρτίας in Romans 8:3, for example, has been argued to signify a "sin offering" that is offered for purification in the Day of Atonement.[56] But Christ's sacrifice is also described in terms of the Passover lamb (1 Cor 5:7). On one side, the sacrificial offering is spotless and pure, whereas on the other side, the scapegoat is loathsome and to be removed in Old Testament patterns. That Jesus is portrayed as both—thus blending aspects of some form of substitution, purification, and priestly service—creates some interpretive pressure on how these are handled in light of the scriptural antecedents. We might add that from Romans 3:25, Christ appears both to serve as sacrifice

[55] Cf. Stephen Finlan, *The Background and Content of Paul's Cultic Atonement Metaphors* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004); cf. Gupta, *Worship*, 220.

[56] While debated, I agree with those who affirm that Paul uses ἁμαρτίας in keeping with the LXX term for חטאת meaning "sin offering" appurtenant to the Day of Atonement (although the sense of the Hebrew is debated). On ἁμαρτίας in Romans 8, see, e.g., N. T. Wright, "The Meaning of Περὶ Ἁμαρτίας in Romans 8.3," in *Studia Biblica 1978: III. Papers on Paul and Other New Testament Authors*, ed. E. A. Livingstone (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1980), 453–59; Peter Stuhlmacher, *Der Brief an die Römer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 107; James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, vol. 38A (Waco: Thomas Nelson, 1988), 414. On whether חטאת is best translated "sin offering," guilt offering, or "purification," cf. Jacob Milgrom, "Sin-Offering or Purification-Offering," *VT* 21, no. 2 (1971): 237–39 with Richard H. Bell, "Sacrifice and Christology in Paul," *JTS* 53, no. 1 (2002): 1–27.

and also the mercy seat of the Most Holy Place.[57] Gathercole likely evaluates the picture correctly: "The imagery here collapses as Paul describes as encompassing almost the whole sacrificial system in his death for sins."[58] This incompatibility of cultic rites and images suggests that what is meaningful is not the images themselves, but the thing being defined through or by them, namely Christ's presence. What binds this complex of images together in 1 Corinthians is the Spirit-mediated presence of Christ with his people and the obligations that this new identity "in Christ" requires.

4.3. Movement Two: The Spirit and the Temple in First Corinthians

4.3.1. Spirit as the Connecting Bridge of Presence in Absence

Having set out the claim that Paul regards Christ, not merely the Spirit, to be the principal locus of the heavenly temple, this study can now move to a description of the role of the Spirit in actualizing this presence among believers. While it is important for Paul elsewhere to name the divine presence in terms of Christ himself, it is also important for Paul to maintain the reality that Jesus is absent bodily in their time. Consequently, while Christ signifies God's presence with his people, it is equally true for Paul that Christ "was raised [and] is at the right hand of God" (Rom 8:34). In other words, the problem that the Spirit addresses for Paul concerns location. This is true on two fronts. First, whereas God's sacred presence was confined principally to a single location that was previously disclosed only to Israel—*the place where the Lord chooses to make his name dwell*—Paul's mission to the gentiles draws on the prophetic call to the "nations" to bring their offering of praise to the Lord "in every place" where they may call upon the name of the Lord (1 Cor 1:2). Spirit, in this way, opens an unprecedented means of access to worship the Lord that is

[57] E.g., Simon J. Gathercole, "Paul's Christology," in *The Blackwell Companion to Paul*, ed. Stephen Westerholm (Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 182; and Michael P. Barber and John A. Kincaid, "Cultic Theosis in Paul and Second Temple Judaism," *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 5, no. 2 (2015): 254.

[58] Gathercole, "Paul's Christology," 182.

not locationally bound.[59] Second, because the location of Christ is in an ascended state, his presence with his people must be spoken of in terms of a joining or uniting (κολλάω) to Christ in "one Spirit" (1 Cor 6:17). Having been baptized into "one body," in the waters of the "one Spirit," the saints are now called members of the "body of Christ" (1 Cor 12:27). Without Paul's "Spirit" language, Paul lacks the means to actualize the presence of Christ with his people in their present time.

This way of understanding *pneuma* as a means of presence amid absence finds support in the way Paul uses *pneuma* in 1 Corinthians 5:3–5.

> For though absent in body, I am present in spirit [παρὼν δὲ τῷ πνεύματι]; and as if present I have already pronounced judgment in the name of the Lord Jesus on the man who has done such a thing. When you are assembled, and my spirit is present with the power of our Lord Jesus, you are to hand this man over to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, so that [the] spirit[60] may be saved in the day of the Lord.[61]

What the phrase "present in spirit" means in today's discourse is a gesture of solidarity and well-wishing *in absentia*. Without using the language of *pneuma*, Paul elsewhere can express his desire to be present "face to face" instead of merely present in his own heart (προσώπῳ οὐ καρδία) (e.g., 1 Thess 2:17). However, in this passage, Paul communicates something more than a desire to be with them in person.

[59] Cf. John 4:21–24 (developing this idea that worship is not bound to a particular sacred mountain, nor even in Jerusalem, but that "worship in spirit and truth" opens up the possibility for a new truth in worship—an invitation of worship to the Samaritans, to women, and to all the nations).

[60] The NRSV, like other English translations, has made the *pneuma* possessive with respect to the immoral man ("his spirit may be saved") and thus used in an anthropological sense. The Greek leaves the attribution undefined: ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα σωθῇ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου.

[61] On the background concerning this passage, see Andrew D. Clarke, *Secular and Christian Leadership in Corinth: A Socio-Historical and Exegetical Study of 1 Corinthians 1–6* (1993; repr., Eugene, Ore.: Wipf & Stock, 2006), 73–88; a full-length study can be found in David Raymond Smith, *"Hand This Man over to Satan": Curse, Exclusion and Salvation in 1 Corinthians 5* (London: T&T Clark, 2009).

Vital to Paul's use of *pneuma* here is the qualifying characterization that his "spirit is present with the power of our Lord Jesus" (1 Cor 5:4). Equally important to grasp is the overall tenor of his instruction in this section: Paul pronounces judgment upon the person and instructs the Corinthian assembly to "hand [him] over to Satan for the destruction of the flesh" (1 Cor 5:5). He accompanies that injunction with the instruction to "clean out the old yeast so that you may be a new batch, as you really are unleavened" (1 Cor 5:7a). Finally, he punctuates this with the statement that "Christ, our paschal lamb, has been sacrificed" (v. 7b). With these cultic anchor points in hand, Paul's *pneuma* language of presence in absence finds more coherence in the larger context of his identification with the community as "the temple of God" (1 Cor 3:16–17).[62] This is further supported by the use of the word "destruction," indicated by the Greek ὄλερος (5:5), and the commandment to "remove" or clean out (ἐκκαθαρῶ) (5:7). Rosner observes that the former in particular bears links with the Hebrew verbs חרם (*ḥerem*) and כרת (*kareth*), each bearing a sense of destruction and removal in the form of community exclusion.[63] In sum, Paul's *pneuma* language here operates in terms of temple preservation and the joint responsibility the churches bear in maintaining temple purity.

The inclusion of the possessive pronoun "my spirit" in verse 4 has complicated the question for interpreters as to whether Paul refers to his own anthropological *pneuma* or the divine Spirit. Fee notes that the use of ἐμοῦ in this verse is in the emphatic position, stressing the reference to Paul's own person.[64] Given that these verses are set up with the insight that some of the Corinthians are puffed up (ἐφυσιώθησάν) because they think that Paul "is not coming" to them (4:18), this supports a finding for the actual presence of Paul himself to be in view rather than simply the divine Spirit in an unqualified sense. But separating the divine from the anthropological *pneuma* here would obfuscate what Paul portrays *pneuma* to accomplish in a cultic setting: the whole temple building (or edification) is in view in

[62] See Brian S. Rosner, "Temple and Holiness in 1 Corinthians 5," *TynBul* 42 (1991): 137–45.

[63] Rosner, "Temple and Holiness," 138; cf. William Horbury, "Extirpation and Excommunication," *VT* 35 (1985): 13–38.

[64] Fee, *First Corinthians*, 224.

this discourse. *Pneuma* is for Paul a power that permits both Paul and Christ to be present in the shared context of a temple setting.

This idea helps explain the remainder of passages where Paul discusses union with Christ by means of the *pneuma*. As often as the *pneuma* is discussed in terms of how Christ is with them and they "in him," Paul also speaks of the *pneuma* to address the current absence that believers feel when they are "away from the Lord" and in a period of waiting (e.g., 2 Cor 5:5–8). Paul's discussion of the Spirit in Romans 8 uses the image of first fruits of the Spirit (τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ πνεύματος), a reality that signifies a received portion of a future reality. As elsewhere, *pneuma* consoles absence with a form of presence that awaits a fuller reunion. Earlier in that chapter Paul explains that "the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you" (8:11). But this dwelling is inchoate and provisional. The Spirit's dwelling in their present time is marked with "groaning" until they wait for "the redemption of [their] bodies" (8:23).

4.3.2. Spirit and Temple in 1 Corinthians 3 and 6

Paul, in two related statements during the letter, appeals to the Corinthians with the reminder that they are God's temple with reference to the *pneuma* that dwells in them.

> Do you not know that you are the temple of God and the Spirit of God dwells among you? [οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ναὸς θεοῦ ἐστε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν;] (1 Cor 3:16)
>
> Do you not know that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit among you, who you have received from God? [οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἁγίου πνεύματός ἐστιν οὗ ἔχετε ἀπὸ θεοῦ;] (1 Cor 6:19)[65]

These passages present the clearest statements connecting *pneuma* and temple and deserve close examination. Both questions in these verses identify the *pneuma* as being "from God" (or "of God"). Both describe the Corinthians in terms of νάος, which I have rendered

[65] Both translations are mine.

"temple."[66] Both of these verses arise, however, out of related but different contexts and need to be analyzed separately.

In 1 Corinthians 3, Paul continues on the theme that occupies much of 1 Corinthians 1–4: the internal divisions concerning leaders, "whether Paul or Apollos or Cephas" (1 Cor 3:22; 1:12). Importantly, Paul frames this entire section (1 Cor 3:1–23) in terms of *pneuma* beginning with the rebuke that they are not acting as "spiritual people" (ὡς πνευματικοῖς) but rather as people of the flesh, infants in Christ (ἀλλ᾽ ὡς σαρκίνοις, ὡς νηπίοις ἐν Χριστῷ). Hence in verse 4, "For when one says, 'I belong to Paul,' and another, 'I belong to Apollos,'" Paul asks, "are you not merely human?" Paul then proceeds to demonstrate that what unites the Corinthians as a whole is not one leader over the other, since both are "coworkers of God" (θεοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν συνεργοί) (3:9). Instead, they are God's building, God's field, and God's temple—as temple, built on the foundation of Jesus Christ (3:11), and as a field, enabled to grow by God alone (3:7). The role of leaders such as Paul and Apollos are only to "water" the Corinthian "churches" and "to build" on that foundation.

The cultic details of this passage are again worth noting. First, the language of "building" plays on an important theme in the biblical and extrabiblical literature with respect to the temple.[67] Scholars have observed that the theme of "building" (or *not building* in the case of David) finds nodal significance in the prophetic texts for the

[66] *Pace* Newton and Hogeterp, Paul here does not seem to make much of any distinction of νάος over against ἱερόν indicating the inner sanctuary as opposed to the larger complex. Cf. Michael Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 54; Albert L. A. Hogeterp, *Paul and God's Temple: A Historical Interpretation of Cultic Imagery in the Corinthian Correspondence* (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 323.

[67] For several recent discussions, see, e.g., Eva Mroczek, "How Not to Build a Temple: Jacob, David, and the Unbuilt Ideal in Ancient Judaism," *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 46, no. 4–5 (2015): 512–46; David Shepherd, "When He Comes, Will He Build It? Temple, Messiah and Targum Jonathan," *Aramaic Studies* 12 (2014): 89–107; on this theme in a more full-length study, see Andrew Mark Stirling, "Transformation and Growth: The Davidic Temple Builder in Ephesians" (PhD diss., University of Aberdeen, 2012), 66–103.

future restoration of the temple.[68] Hence, Zechariah looks to the one "whose name is Branch" and "he shall build the temple of the Lord" (Zech 6:12); Isaiah 66:1 poses this question to Israel: "What is the house that you will build for me?" Hence, placing leaders such as Paul and Apollos in the commission of temple building (upon the foundation of Christ) taps into a line of prophetic and messianic expectation that God's eschatological temple restoration is under way.[69]

Likewise, the language of "destroying" (φθείρω) the temple brings into sharper relief a well-integrated cultic theme, where φθείρω connotes less actual destruction but more likely the *pollution* of sacred space.[70] Whichever corrupting or destructive activity is indicated here, we can be certain that Paul still refers to the problem of factions and leadership in keeping with the primary point in this section. Note also that when this subject of belonging to Paul or Apollos or Cephas is introduced in 1 Corinthians 1:12–13, Paul asks, "Has Christ been divided?" (μεμέρισται ὁ Χριστός;) (illustrating an unthinkable dividing or physical separation of Christ himself among different groups). The connections here solidify the idea that the chief identity indicator of the "temple" is not the community itself, nor even the indwelling Spirit within that community, but rather Christ with whom they are joined.

The second occurrence where Paul designates the assemblies as the "temple of the Holy Spirit" is in 1 Corinthians 6:12–20, where he has moved on from the subject of leaders to the subject of fornication. The application of this temple discourse to a new situation supports the idea that it holds a key place in Paul's system of thought. Change in context notwithstanding, it remains clear that the organizing idea behind his instruction in this passage remains

[68] These texts include Isa 44–45; Zech 4:9; 6:12–13. See also the evidence from the Targums, including T. Jon. Zech 6.12–13. On these, see the above noted studies as well as the discussion in Jostein Ådna, *Jesu Stellung zum Tempel: Die Tempelaktion und das Tempelwort als Ausdruck seiner Messianischen Sendung* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 25–89. Cf. 2 Sam 7 and Sib. Or. 5.414–33.

[69] On the discussion of "building" throughout 1 Corinthians, see § 4.3.6.

[70] E.g., Plutarch, *Quaest. rom.* 109 (89 E–F); Aeschines, *Ctes.* 3.113. Both of these references use the verb with reference to priestly and cultic contamination. See Ethan Johnson, "Sacrilege and Temple Imagery" (PhD diss., University of St Andrews, 2022). The inclination to read "destruction" into these texts comes from our vantage point of history, but most scholars agree that Paul is innocent of the fate of the Jerusalem temple in these texts.

centered around the temple and the related concerns of purification in maintaining temple purity.[71] Ringing in the ears of his hearers is the command to "drive out the wicked person from among you" (1 Cor 5:13). Further indicative of the cultic context are the references to the yeast that threatens to leaven the whole dough and to Christ, the "paschal lamb" (5:7). Paul frames these remarks with reference to the incommensurability of the wicked (ἄδικοι) who will not inherit the kingdom of God (6:9), compared to those who were "washed, sanctified, and justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of God" (6:10).[72]

The climactic instruction of this section is the command to "glorify God with your body" as Paul reminds them that they were bought with a price (6:20). The recurrence and variances with how body and bodies (τὸ σῶμα / τὰ σώματα) arise in this passage require careful handling. He begins by asking: "Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ?" (οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν μέλη Χριστοῦ ἐστιν;) (6:15). The neuter plural of "bodies" (τὰ σώματα) here does not match up with the injunction in verse 20, deploying the singular dative when urging that they glorify God with their "body" (τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν).[73] Nor does the plural form of "bodies" in verse 15 align with verse 19 with its reminder that "the body [τὸ σῶμα] of you [pl. ὑμῶν] is a temple of the Holy Spirit among you [pl. ὑμῖν]"

[71] Among other important insights, Yulin Liu's useful study of 1 Cor 1–7 argues that the central idea in the letter surrounds temple purity as informed by both Jewish and Greco-Roman cultic practice. See Yulin Liu, *Temple Purity in 1–2 Corinthians* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 70–194.

[72] Dunn contends (against relatively older interpretations of this passage) that Paul is not describing a baptismal context here (despite references to washing in the name of the Lord and in the Spirit), but that he discusses a broader conversion-initiation context. E.g., James D. G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit: A Re-Examination of the New Testament Teaching on the Gift of the Spirit in Relation to Pentecostalism Today* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1970), 104; cf. Wolfgang Schrage, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, 3rd ed. (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Patmos Verlag, 2012), 1:433–34. See also Stanley E. Porter and Anthony R. Cross, eds., *Baptism, the New Testament and the Church: Historical and Contemporary Studies in Honour of R. E. O. White* (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1999) (including essays interacting with Dunn's arguments among other related issues on the baptism and Christian conversion complex).

[73] Some variants harmonize τὰ σώματα in verse 19 to agree with verse 15. These include a correction to Codex A, along with L, Ψ, and 33; Texts supporting the singular τὸ σῶμα include 𝔓[46], א, A, B, C, D, and 1739.

(6:19).[74] Indeed, an interplay of collective and individual senses of the term "body" appear in view in tracing through Paul's language here. Importantly, verse 18 makes reference to sinning against "his own body" (εἰς τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα), strongly suggesting a possessive and hence individual sense of the term.[75]

These variances have created the puzzles that ensued in scholarship over whether Paul applies these cultic images individually or communally or both.[76] Most of the interpreters consulted here opt for a "both/and" approach such that the communal identity of the temple is also applied to individual believers.[77] But for the reasons that follow, this view cannot be what Paul had in mind in this passage. It bears mentioning at the outset that the "in you" (ἐν ὑμῖν) language in these texts matches the Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible when God's presence is said to "dwell among you/them." Exodus 25:8 is representative of this: "Have them make me a sanctuary, so that I may dwell among them [ἐν ὑμῖν]."[78] Ezekiel also prophesies

[74] The marker "pl." indicates the second person plural.

[75] Compare R. Kempthorne, "Incest and the Body of Christ: A Study of 1 Corinthians 6:12–20," *NTS* 14, no. 4 (1968): 573 (finding ἴδιον to be rendered not as the individual's body, but simply "his" body, which is the church, consistent with the corporate sense in 1 Cor 3:16) with Gupta, "Which 'Body' Is a Temple?" 530 (finding both individual and collective senses to inform Paul's use of the body imagery).

[76] Interestingly, when the word "body" is used with respect to Christ directly, and only here, the occurrences of σῶμα are articular. Hence, the bread that is broken is a sharing in "the body of Christ" (κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ) (10:16; 11:24). Likewise, the one who partakes of the Lord's Supper in an unworthy manner is answerable for "the body and the blood of the Lord" (ἔνοχος ἔσται τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου) (11:27). By contrast, when the Corinthians are deemed to be "[the] body of the Lord," the phrase is anarthrous. So 1 Cor 12:27 declares, "Now you are [the] body of Christ and individually members of it" (Ὑμεῖς δέ ἐστε σῶμα Χριστοῦ καὶ μέλη ἐκ μέρους). The same principle applies in the copulative phrases where the Corinthians are deemed "temple of God." 1 Cor 3:16 (Οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ναὸς θεοῦ ἐστε); 1 Cor 6:19 (ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἁγίου πνεύματός ἐστιν).

[77] E.g., Fee, *First Corinthians*, 291; Thiselton, *Corinthians*, 474; Conzelmann, *Corinthians*, 112; Wright, *PFG*, 712–13; also Gupta, "Which 'Body' Is a Temple?" 531.

[78] See also Num 5:3; Lev 26:12. See also the discussion in § 2.2.3 regarding the LXX avoidance to translate שכן in terms of dwelling.

in terms of the placement of the glory in their midst with the same language: καὶ δώσω τὴν δόξαν μου ἐν ὑμῖν.[79]

It is difficult in the context of Paul's argument to understand why it would be important for Paul to stress that the individual Christian is called the temple in which God dwells by his spirit.[80] The overall import of Paul's temple language appears thoroughly distributive in its application and collective in its identity. The logic of these texts consistently indicates that individuals possess the capacity to harm the collective sanctity of the assembly by their ungodly or wicked actions (e.g., 1 Cor 5:6–11; 6:15). One man's fornication is decried for its impact on Christ, with whom the other members are joined. One brother's harm over the conscience of another brother is likewise regarded as a "sin against Christ" (8:12). When the incestuous man (5:1) is removed from the assembly, his being handed over to Satan necessarily involves removal from God's dwelling presence. If this immoral individual remains a "temple" in his own right, the urgency of the passage loses all of its force. If the individual reading is upheld, the person removed from fellowship could still regard himself as worshipping within his own individual temple. The better reading in this instance is that his removal means the purification of the presence for the entire assembly.

This is not to suggest that Paul has no place for individual believers to regard themselves as holy and sacred. On the contrary, they are *saints* (1 Cor 1:2).[81] However, the arguments made by scholars in pressing for a *both-and* (individual-communal) dynamic to this

[79] Ezek 39:21: "I will place my glory among you [καὶ δώσω τὴν δόξαν μου ἐν ὑμῖν], and all the nations will see my judgment, that I have made, by my hand, that I brought upon them." Translation is mine.

[80] See also Bertil E. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament: A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 141.

[81] See Scot McKnight, "Saints Re-Formed: The Extension and Expansion of *Hagios* in Paul," in *One God, One People, One Future: Essays in Honor of N. T. Wright*, ed. John Anthony Dunne and Eric Lewellen (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2018), 220 ("It is the presence of God in the Holy Spirit that renders a person a 'saint'").

temple imagery likely make more of the evidence than is warranted.[82] For instance, Gupta offers Romans 12:1–3, and its call to "offer your bodies as a living sacrifice," as an example of cultic imagery that supports an individual reading, given its appeal to the "renewing of the mind" (12:2).[83] Arguments like this neglect the Pauline character of these appeals to the transformation of the "mind," which is seldom, if ever, indicative of individuated personhood. In Pauline texts, appeals to have "the same mind" (τὸ αὐτὸ φρονῆτε) (Phil 2:2; 4:2) and "same purpose" (ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ νοὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ) (1 Cor 1:10) are appeals to corporate unity, invariably shaped on the mind and pattern of Christ himself (Phil 2:5; 1 Cor 2:16). In Romans 12, not only does Paul exhort his hearers to offer themselves in terms of a singular sacrifice (θυσίαν ζῶσαν), but the remaining exhortations in this chapter pertain to the function of "one body [with] many members" and how their various gifts are worked out in their communities with regard for the other person (Rom 12:3–21).

Finally, attention deserves to be paid to Paul's illuminating claim that the believer "joined to the Lord is one spirit with him" (ὁ δὲ κολλώμενος τῷ κυρίῳ ἓν πνεῦμά ἐστιν) (1 Cor 6:17). This language of jointure already echoes Paul's reminder that their "bodies are members of Christ" (τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν μέλη Χριστοῦ ἐστιν) (1 Cor 6:15). Both in form and syntax, this idea is starkly juxtaposed in verses

[82] Wright is among those who push for the both/and reading of this image so that temple refers to individuals as much as the community. E.g., Wright, *PFG*, 712–13 ("What is true of the church as a whole is true of every single Christian. To sin against the body is to deface the divine Temple, to ignore the *Shekinah* who, in shocking fulfilment of ancient promises, has returned to dwell in that Temple at last"); also Gupta, "Which 'Body' Is a Temple?" 529–36. There is a sense that this is correct. So great is his concern for one brother that to harm his conscience would "sin against Christ" (1 Cor 8:12). Paul elsewhere demonstrates concern for "*each one* among you" in his *fatherly* ministry to the Thessalonians (1 Thess 2:11). But none of this depends on the individual being regarded as a temple and each one being regarded as a locus of God's *Shekinah*.

[83] Gupta, "Which 'Body' Is a Temple?" 530.

16–17 with the analogy to marital union and its improper application to prostitution and (or) sexual immorality (ἡ πόρνη).[84]

ὁ	κολλώμενος	τῇ πόρνῃ	ἕν σῶμά ἐστιν
	ἔσονται γάρ, φησίν,		οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν
ὁ δὲ	κολλώμενος	τῷ κυρίῳ	ἕν πνεῦμά ἐστιν.

The interplay with Genesis 2:24 and joining Christ with a prostitute has sparked a wide array of interpretive options.[85] Gunkel believed sexual union to be in Paul's mind, so that Christians are "absorbed" into Christ and grow together into "one Spirit."[86] The use of the term "member" in this context (and with its use in 1 Cor 12 in connection with the "less honorable" members) has led some interpreters to point to a "serious and unavoidable double entendre" of male genitalia.[87] Martin interprets the use of "prostitute" against an apocalyptic, cosmological frame. Seen this way, ἡ πόρνη refers to a representative of the cosmos that is estranged and opposed to God. Accordingly, sexual immorality with a prostitute is not a personal act alone with personal consequences. For Martin, "the man who has sex with a prostitute is, in Paul's construction, Christ's 'member' entering

[84] On the issue of temple prostitution as factoring in the background of these issues, see Brian S. Rosner, "Temple Prostitution in 1 Corinthians 6:12–20," *NovT* 40, no. 4 (1998): 336–51; Liu, *Temple Purity in 1–2 Corinthians*, 150; and also Tanja Susanne Scheer, "Tempelprostitution in Korinth?" in *Tempelprostitution im Altertum: Fakten und Fiktionen*, ed. Tanja Susanne Scheer and Martin Lindner (Berlin: Verlag Antike, 2009), 221–66.

[85] On the interpretive options, see, e.g., Andrew David Naselli, "Is Every Sin outside the Body except Immoral Sex? Weighing whether 1 Corinthians 6:18b Is Paul's Statement or a Corinthian Slogan," *JBL* 136, no. 4 (2017): 969–87. Representative of the view that Paul has in mind a marital union between Christ and Christians, see Kathy L. Gaca, *The Making of Fornication: Eros, Ethics, and Political Reform in Greek Philosophy and Early Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 171–83. Cf. Bruce N. Fisk, "ΠΟΡΝΕΥΕΙΝ as Body Violation: The Unique Nature of Sexual Sin in 1 Corinthians 6.18," *NTS* 42, no. 4 (1996): 540–58.

[86] Hermann Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit: The Popular View of the Apostolic Age and the Teaching of the Apostle Paul; A Biblical-Theological Study* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 114.

[87] So Levison, *Filled*, 298; and Martin, *Body*, 175–79.

the body of the prostitute."[88] The *pneuma*, for Martin, is that which is shared between the man and Christ, so that by *pneuma*, "the man's body is therefore the appendage of Christ's body."[89]

The problem with this interpretation is that Martin avoids the very thing Paul places front and center in this discussion: the temple. Purity is evidently the issue on the table, but it is not of the kind best informed by medical texts and classical views on pollution. Rather, this text is better informed with backgrounds associated with ancient temple purity and the long scriptural tradition that informs sexual chastity (beginning with the Gen 2 account of Adam and Eve). As we will show shortly, these are not unrelated subjects. The problems arising from sexual immorality, idolatry, and meals, together with issues surrounding God's call to holiness and the observance of sacred space are issues that arise together throughout Paul's letters, not simply in 1 Corinthians.[90] It is possible that this cluster of ideas (and precisely these) had more to do with the practical observance of the Apostolic Decree in gentile assemblies than much of Pauline scholarship tends to recognize.[91]

Rather than a *pneuma* that joins humans and Christ together into one large cosmic entity, Paul deploys *pneuma* to locate the Corinthian identity within a Christ-oriented sacred space that is now no longer bound to a single place. The relativization of space is not merely geographical in scope, but bears a heavenly component. This is confirmed by the reference to resurrection in this passage: "God raised the Lord and will also raise us by his power" (6:14). Rather than some credal aside or post-Pauline gloss,[92] the appeal to

[88] Martin, *Body*, 176.

[89] Martin, *Body*, 176.

[90] E.g., 1 Thess 1:9; 4:3–8; 1 Cor 6–8; 10:14–19.

[91] See § 5.1.3. J. C. Hurd's study is among the more notable reconstructions of the Corinthian correspondence that assumes that the Decree precedes and contextualizes the issues addressed in the text. John Coolidge Hurd, *The Origin of I Corinthians*, 2nd ed. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1983). I do not accept Hurd's larger thesis that the Decree itself necessitated a modification of his views addressed in earlier correspondence (some of which he contends is contained in 1 Corinthians itself).

[92] *Pace* Udo Schnelle, "1 Kor 6:14—Eine Nachpaulinische Glosse," *NovT* 25, no. 3 (1983): 217–19.

believers being raised forms a vital link to Paul's overall image of the assembly as temple. The sense of "resurrection" in this passage is not simply a vague reference to the future,[93] but rather has immediate and present force for believers who are united to Christ in one Spirit (v. 17).[94] As we saw in 2 Corinthians 5, there is a temporal tension in their union to Christ. They are united with the Lord in the present time by the *pneuma*, but this hope is anchored by the future expectation of a fuller presence with him upon the resurrection of God's people.

The overall picture traced in 1 Corinthians is now rounding into form. Believers enjoy a union with the Lord by the Spirit, framed in terms of a future resurrection that they look to (6:14). In this arrangement, their "bodies are members of Christ" (6:15). Joined to the Lord in "one Spirit," they are to "shun fornication" in view of the fact that the "body is a temple of the Holy Spirit" (6:18–19). This redescribes the kind of themes established in 2 Corinthians 4–5: a union with Christ expressed in terms of a temple dwelling context which is grounded in the hope of resurrection where believers will be with the Lord. These ideas reach their fuller expression in 1 Corinthians 12, where the language of spirit, members, and body converge in terms of members being joined to one body through baptism "in one spirit."

4.3.3. The Body and the Spirit in 1 Corinthians 12

There is a resumption of key words in 1 Corinthians 12 that were emphasized in chapters 3 and 6: namely, "body," "*pneuma*," and "members of Christ." While we lack a corresponding reference in this chapter to the "temple," the recurrence of this association of images necessarily invites the reader to build on these existing grounds. In fact, there are only four identity statements in the entire letter where

[93] The text-critical evidence shows disagreement over the tense (whether present, aorist, or future). The correctors to 𝔓[46] indicate all three tenses. The majority of commentators I have reviewed support the future tense (supported by ℵ C D[3]). E.g., Thiselton, *Corinthians*, 464; Conzelmann, *Corinthians*, 111.

[94] See also Hooker, "Sanctuary," 349 ("Christians are *already* members of Christ's risen body: it is precisely because they are raised with Christ that believers are limbs and organs of his body.").

Paul combines a "you are" (ἐστε / ἐστιν) clause with a predicate nominative identity.[95]

> You are God's temple. (1 Cor 3:16)
>
> Your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit within you. (1 Cor 6:19)
>
> You are the seal of my apostleship in the Lord. (1 Cor 9:2)
>
> You are the body of Christ and individually members of it. (1 Cor 12:27)

The outlier here is 9:2, where Paul discusses the churches at Corinth in terms of the efficacy of his ministry, images that he employs in his other letters.[96] The remaining three, however, are capstone statements each summarizing key instructions and appear to follow a common thread throughout the epistle: they are the body of Christ, who is the heavenly temple in his person, and they are joined to him as members of one body by means of the Spirit.

Morna Hooker's recent study on Paul's temple and body language similarly traces through this same cluster of statements with the aims of drawing out their potential relationship.[97] She observes that chapters 3, 6, and 12 develop related and overlapping concepts in terms of the body of Christ, members of Christ, and the temple of the Holy Spirit (although not all three chapters discuss all three subjects at the same time). All three passages share a focus on the work of the Spirit, but chapters 3 and 6 focus on the holiness of the temple, chapters 3 and 12 concern unity, and, importantly, chapters 6 and 12 develop the idea of the body of Christ and believers as members therein. Hooker, surveying these statements, ponders whether a pattern can emerge between these points: "The question that intrigues me is this: are the images of the ναὸς Θεοῦ or ναὸς ἁγίου πνεύματός

[95] 1 Cor 14:12 is the only other potential candidate that fits this criterion, though this predicates not an identity, but a state of being: ζηλωταί ἐστε (You are zealous for spiritual gifts).

[96] E.g., 2 Cor 3:1 ("you are our letter"); 1 Thess 2:19–20 (naming the Thessalonians as a crown of boasting and joy).

[97] Hooker, "Sanctuary," 353.

and of the σῶμα Χριστοῦ simply parallel images that just happen to overlap in 1 Cor. 6, or is there an underlying relationship between them?"[98] What we do not have in 1 Corinthians is the kind of direct statement we find in John 2:21: Jesus was not referring to the Jerusalem temple, but to "the temple of his body." But as we have already sought to demonstrate, those conceptual links may be present without the express formulation expressed in so many words. When Paul at last declares to his Corinthian hearers, "you are the body of Christ and members of it" (1 Cor 12:27), it bears a summative quality that requires mutual interpretation from prior passages on *members*, *body*, and *spirit*.

4.3.3.1. The Divine Identity of "One Spirit"

Turning to the text of 1 Corinthians 12 specifically, we find an extended meditation on *pneuma* in terms of oneness and diversity. Nowhere is this better demonstrated than in the form and repetition of *diairesis* (diversity or variety) and the word *autos* (same) listed in verses 4–6, which can be arranged as follows:

	Διαιρέσεις δὲ	χαρισμάτων	εἰσίν, τὸ δὲ	αὐτὸ πνεῦμα·
καὶ	διαιρέσεις	διακονιῶν	εἰσιν, καὶ ὁ	αὐτὸς κύριος·
καὶ	διαιρέσεις	ἐνεργημάτων	εἰσίν, ὁ δὲ	αὐτὸς θεὸς ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν.

The parallelism strikingly illustrates a variety of activities among church members (gifts, services, activities [χαρισμάτων, διακονιῶν, ἐνεργημάτων]), but it lays the accent on the sameness of source. Of course, that which is labeled as *autos* is not the same subject in the three phrases, but rather refers to three distinct referents: *pneuma*, *Kyrios*, and *Theos*. Whether or not this is any sort of proof for a trinitarian framework in Pauline thought (incipient, inchoate, or otherwise) is less important to this thesis than the fact that *pneuma* is placed directly with *Kyrios* and *Theos* as the same enabling source

[98] Hooker, "Sanctuary," 353.

for the diversity of gifts to the church members.[99] The *pneuma* is squarely identified with the Lord and God who works all things in all persons.[100]

Connecting this with our leading theme of "one Spirit," this passage informs how the Corinthians are to understand and recognize the Spirit. "One and the same Spirit" (1 Cor 12:11) works in conjunction with the "same Lord" and "the same God." In Paul's letters, there is not a generalized spirit world filled with spirit beings that move about for good or for evil,[101] there is rather "one Spirit" that is identified with the "one God, the Father from whom are all things" and "one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things" (1 Cor 8:6). Paul presumes that the Spirit is identifiable and distinguishable from other Spirits (1 Cor 12:10; 2 Cor 11:4), a Spirit that is from God and not from the world (1 Cor 2:12). Importantly, Paul explains that in contrast to a former life marked by ungodliness, they are now *washed*, *sanctified*, and *justified* "in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and by the Spirit of our God" (1 Cor 6:11). Here we find clear association between the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and the Spirit as

[99] On the trinitarian reading for this verse, see, e.g., Wright, *PFG*, 723. On Paul and trinitarianism in recent discussion, see Wesley Hill, *Paul and the Trinity: Persons, Relations, and the Pauline Letters* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015) (although he curiously omits a discussion of 12:4–6); also Max Turner, "'Trinitarian' Pneumatology in the New Testament?—Towards an Explanation of the Worship of Jesus," *AsTJ* 58, no. 1 (2003): 167–86.

[100] On "identity" in this context, see Richard Bauckham, *God Crucified: Monotheism and Christology in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 5–8 ("If we wish to know in what Second Temple Judaism considered the uniqueness of the one God to consist, what distinguished God as unique from all other reality, including beings worshipped as gods by Gentiles, we must look not for a definition of divine nature, but for ways of characterizing the unique divine identity"). Bauckham's use of "identity" concepts has generated fruitful studies concerning Christological identity; e.g., Chris Tilling, *Paul's Divine Christology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015); Christopher Baker, "The Identity of the Spirit in Paul: Did the Spirit Come to Possess a Distinct Identity within Paul's Christian Monotheism?" (PhD diss., Australian Catholic University, 2013).

[101] *Pace* Guy Williams, *The Spirit World in the Letters of Paul the Apostle: A Critical Examination of the Role of Spiritual Beings in the Authentic Pauline Epistles* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009).

that which marks the inflection point of the believer's new identity.[102] This comports well with the baptism formulations that bear out the same identity links with Christ and Spirit.[103]

4.3.4. *Pneuma* and Eucharist: "Drinking" the Spirit? (1 Cor 12:12–13)

An important exegetical issue in this passage concerns how to interpret being baptized and being given to drink or being watered ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι (by/in one spirit).[104] Käsemann and Horn ascribed the sacraments to form the means by which Christ transmitted his *pneuma* to believers in the physical act of eating and drinking.[105] The decisions of whether Paul imagines reception of the Spirit by baptism or by drinking the "spirit" depend on a related set of interpretive decisions. The first of these is squaring away the logic of Paul's prepositional constructions. Does baptism *in* or *with* the *pneuma* refer to an element or sphere of baptism, or does it otherwise concern an instrumental aspect of action *by* the *pneuma?* The argument for a nonagential interpretation is supported by the fact that Paul prefers the εἰς and ἐν formulations with the baptism word group βαπτίζω, which is typically used in connection with a person or name.[106] Hence, Paul

[102] On the "name" of God with respect to the Spirit, see C. Kavin Rowe, "Romans 10:13: What Is the Name of the Lord?" *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 22, no. 2 (2000): 135–73.

[103] Cf. 1 Cor 12:13; 2 Cor 13:13.

[104] Pauline and early Christian views on baptismal unity have been the subject of full-length studies, the details and history of which need to be more assumed than developed here. See in particular Bruce Hansen, *All of You Are One: The Social Vision of Galatians 3.28, 1 Corinthians 12.13 and Colossians 3.11* (London: T&T Clark, 2010); cf. also Michael Root and Risto Saarinen, eds., *Baptism and the Unity of the Church* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998).

[105] Friedrich Wilhelm Horn, *Das Angeld des Geistes: Studien zur paulinischen Pneumatologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 57 ("Die Übertragung des Geistes bedarf verschiedener Hilfsstoffe, an die sich das πνεῦμα stofflich bindet [Wasser, Öl, Speisen etc.]"); Ernst Käsemann, "The Pauline Doctrine of the Lord's Supper," in *Essays on New Testament Themes*, trans. W. J. Montague (London: SCM Press, 1964), 115–17. Cf. Jos. Asen. 8.5, 9; 21.13–14; 1QH^{a} 11.3–14; 12.11–13; 15.6–7; 20.11–13; Sir 39.6; Seneca, *Ep.* 66.12.

[106] The New Testament uses ἐν 2,825 times compared to εἰς 1,866. Cf. Matthew Brook O'Donnell, "Two Opposing Views on Baptism with/by the Holy Spirit and of 1 Corinthians 12.13: Can Grammatical Investigation Bring

speaks of baptizing believers "in the name of Paul" (ἐβαπτίσθητε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Παύλου) (1 Cor 1:13) or Israelites being baptized "into Moses" (ἐβαπτίσθησαν εἰς τὸν Μωϋσῆν) (1 Cor 10:2). The other New Testament formula denoting the agency of the baptizer, ὑπο + genitive (baptized by someone), is not present in Paul.[107] When paired with *pneuma*, we find that the baptizand is baptized "in one spirit" and "into one body" (ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι ἡμεῖς πάντες εἰς ἓν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν) (1 Cor 12:13).

One way we can apply grist on these slippery grammatical issues is to understand the function of these prepositions elsewhere in the letter. The most relevant evidence in sorting through the options comes from 1 Corinthians 10, which bears important relationships to 1 Corinthians 12.[108] We can represent the parallel clauses as follows:

10:2b	καὶ πάντες εἰς τὸν Μωϋσῆν ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ	ἐβαπτίσθησαν
12:13a–b	ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι ἡμεῖς πάντες εἰς ἓν σῶμα	 ἐβαπτίσθημεν
10:3–4	καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνευματικὸν βρῶμα ἔφαγον καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνευματικὸν ἔπιον πόμα	
12:13d	καὶ πάντες ἓν πνεῦμα	 ἐποτίσθημεν

The phrasing is not exactly parallel, but its principal value is in helping us sort through the logical structuring of the prepositional phrases

Clarity?" in *Baptism, the New Testament and the Church*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Anthony R. Cross (Sheffield: T&T Clark, 1999), 327. Others have suggested a historically progressive relationship that retained distinct differences in meaning. So Stanley E. Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 151–52 ("Historical and contextual evidence indicates that they overlap in meaning, while remaining distinct").

[107] Cf. Mark 1:5; 9 (ἐβαπτίσθη εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου); Matt 3:6.

[108] Among those favoring the mutual interpretation of 1 Cor 10:1–4 and 12:12–13, see Horn, *Das Angeld des Geistes*, 167–75; Käsemann, "Pauline Doctrine of the Lord's Supper."

in both passages, as they both share the overlapping context of baptism language. Importantly, the εἰς clause in 12:13 denotes a person that the baptizand is somehow identified with or "baptized into." Although the "body" is not named in chapter 12, the reference here is most certainly Christ (as 12:12 makes explicit).[109] In 10:2, Moses is portrayed as a representative figure into whom the people are baptized with respect to; drawing out the comparison, believers are baptized into Christ's body in the same way. The *pneuma* in this regard can be seen to correspond with the cloud and the sea of chapter 10, each of which is a potentially physical and visible sign of God's presence and leading activity—signs that track well the ministries of the Spirit as that which attests to a believer's identity in Christ (Rom 8:16) and that which leads the believer out of slavery and fear and into freedom (Rom 8:14–17; Gal 5:13–26).[110]

Equally difficult in 12:13c is the clause πάντες ἓν πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν ("being watered" or "given to drink of one spirit").[111] This verb is rendered in most of the major English translations as the passive form of "to drink," as in *we were all given to drink of one spirit*. Understood this way, the rendering undergirds a sacramental understanding to the verse—having already discussed baptism, the passage is then understood to make a eucharistic turn. James Dunn, averse to such a sacramental reading of 12:13c, glosses this verb merely as "we were watered" in one spirit. The verb ποτίζω is indeed capable of denoting both drinking and irrigation.[112] In support of Dunn's view is the fact that the other occurrences of ποτίζω in 1 Corinthians bears this agricultural sense of watering, as in "I planted, Apollos watered" (ἐγὼ ἐφύτευσα, Ἀπολλῶς ἐπότισεν)

[109] See also 12:27 ("you are the body of Christ").

[110] On the Exodus-themed overtones to Paul's Spirit images in Romans, see Susan Grove Eastman, "Whose Apocalypse? The Identity of the Sons of God in Romans 8:19," *JBL* 121, no. 2 (2002): 263–77; Sylvia C. Keesmaat, *Paul and His Story* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999).

[111] Cf. G. J. Cuming, "ΕΠΟΤΙΣΘΗΜΕΝ (1 Corinthians 12.13)," *NTS* 27 (1981): 283–85, and E. R. Rogers, "ΕΠΟΤΙΣΘΗΜΕΝ Again," *NTS* 29, no. 1 (1983): 139–42; also Anthony R. Cross, "Spirit- and Water-Baptism in 1 Corinthians 12.13," in *Dimensions of Baptism: Biblical and Theological Studies*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Anthony R. Cross (London: Bloomsbury, 2003), 120–48.

[112] BDAG, s.v. ποτίζω; Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 131; also Conzelmann, *Corinthians*, 212.

(1 Cor 3:6; cf. 3:8). Furthermore, the verb "to drink" (πίνω and its infinitive, πεῖν) is used quite naturally elsewhere in 1 Corinthians when it comes to the human act of drinking rather than ἐποτίσθημεν or its cognates (10:4; 10:21). Dunn contends that the sacraments are simply not in view because not only would it suggest the unprecedented image of receiving the *pneuma* by ingestion, but furthermore the imagery falls much more in line with the prophetic expectation that the *pneuma* in the last days will be "poured out" and water the dryness of the land and God's people (e.g., Isa 32:15; 44:3; Ezek 39:29; Joel 2:28).[113]

Dunn's remarks notwithstanding, the eucharistic reading receives more convincing support from several key exegetical factors. First, while πίνω and πεῖν indeed are natural options to signify the act of drinking in 1 Corinthians, it is not necessarily the language of ritual. The passive sense in 12:13 is necessary in order to coordinate with ἐβαπτίσθημεν (we were baptized) occurring in the same sentence; additionally, a passive signifier fits in a sacramental context where the importance is not the subject's action itself (i.e., drinking), but on that which is received by the subject as though given by gift (i.e., the cup of blessing).[114] Second, Dunn overstates the grammatical links with the prophetic references to the "pouring out" of the *pneuma*. These references consistently use the Hebrew form of שָׁפַךְ and the Greek ἐκχέω. Isaiah 29:10 is the one instance in LXX Greek where ποτίζειν (in the active voice) is used with reference to πνεῦμα (where God "pours out a spirit of stupor" [ὅτι πεπότικεν ὑμᾶς κύριος πνεύματι κατανύξεως]). Any conceptual links then to ἐποτίσθημεν (in the sense of irrigational watering, in the passive voice) with Paul's use of πνεῦμα is highly attenuated. Most importantly, the strong parallels with 1 Corinthians 10 noted above constrain how the reference to πάντες ἓν πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν (12:13c) is understood. The subject matter of 10:1–21 is certainly cast to evoke a sacramental analogy, as it reads that "they all drank the same spiritual bread and drank the same spiritual drink" (πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνευματικὸν ἔπιον

[113] Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 131.

[114] But see 1 Cor 11:25–26 ("Do this as often as you drink it [ὁσάκις ἐὰν πίνητε], in remembrance of me").

πόμα) (10:3–4).[115] Paul later refers to the "cup of blessing that we bless" (10:16). The continual references to the cup that is taken at the Eucharist in 1 Corinthians 11:25–29 provide further grounding for the discussion of 12:13 to be understood against this sacramental backdrop.[116]

We can, thus, provide an answer to our lead question: Did the Corinthians drink the *Spirit*? No, not in a material sense where the physical *pneuma* is ingested by drink. The drink (12:13) is "the cup of blessing" of the Lord's Supper, which they are to recognize as a *koinonia* in the blood of Christ (1 Cor 10:16). The language of "spirit" here links the "spiritual drink" of Israel (1 Cor 10:1–4) and that which the Corinthians are given to drink: one Spirit (12:13). In both instances what is received as drink, however, is not the Spirit itself, but a ritual form of participation in Christ. As we concluded in our discussion of *koinonia* language,[117] the better understanding of "fellowship" and "participation" language surrounds the act of participating in cultic ritual. The Corinthians did not receive the Spirit

[115] 1 Corinthians 10 and 12 are not only mutually interpretive, but the "example" of Israel accounted here can only work if their experience is not "similar" to the Corinthians, but the same—they are liable to judgment despite receiving the bread and the cup. Indeed like "some of the Israelites," *some of the Corinthians* also died in their unworthy reception of the elements.

[116] James Dunn and Gordon Fee lead a group of scholars who deny any vital link between *pneuma* reception and the sacraments (baptism in particular) in the Pauline material. So Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 109–46, esp. 130; Gordon D. Fee, *God's Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), 178–83. Their principal argument is that Paul deploys *pneuma* in a metaphorical sense of joining the believer "in Christ." See James D. G. Dunn, "'Baptized' as Metaphor," in *Baptism, the New Testament and the Church: Historical and Contemporary Studies in Honour of R. E. O. White*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Anthony R. Cross (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1999), 307–8. This argument fails to persuade as Paul's ritual and cultic language is never nakedly a physical act, but necessarily invokes a symbolic system that blends both embodied ritual action with the theological ideas they are joined with. On the complex of symbolic ritual in the New Testament, embodied communal practice, and its role in spiritual formation, see Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); and Richard E. DeMaris, *The New Testament in Its Ritual World* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

[117] § 4.1.3.

by drinking the cup, just as the Israelites are not described as receiving the Spirit in their "spiritual drink." The source of water for Israel was the rock, "and that rock was Christ" (1 Cor 10:4). What makes the drink "spiritual," is not that it contains "spirit,"[118] but that in both instances they bear a connective dimension to Christ in a cultic context. What both Israel and the Corinthians receive is a *koinonia* in Christ by means of the Spirit.

4.3.5. Connecting Together Spirit, Temple, Body, and Christ

Having surveyed the critical links of the thesis to this point, we can now address the question as to why Paul appears to elide his "temple" locution to connect principally with the Holy Spirit and not specifically Christ: "Do you not know that you are God's temple and that God's Spirit dwells in you?" (1 Cor 3:16). If Paul has a wider complex of interrelated images in mind that proceeds primarily through Christ, as I have argued, why is this not formulated in so many words in 1 Corinthians? First, this chapter has sought to demonstrate that presence with Christ and the Spirit's dwelling with his people are two expressions of the same reality. Being baptized "in one Spirit" (1 Cor 12:13) is the same reality for Paul as being baptized into Christ and clothed with Christ (Gal 3:27). The spiritual presence of Christ is a temporal bridge to an expected fullness of Christ's physical reunion with his people. This is precisely the point Paul makes in 2 Corinthians 5:5–8: having the down payment of the *pneuma* guarantees that they will be "at home with the Lord," in a heavenly temple not made with hands.[119] Because Paul must account for the reality of Christ's physical absence, the Spirit is relied upon to communicate *koinonia* between the churches and the risen Christ.

[118] So, rightly, Volker Rabens, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul: Transformation and Empowering for Religious-Ethical Life*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2013), 117 (arguing that the -ικός suffix does not refer to the material or the substance of which something is composed, such that "spiritual bread" does not indicate bread composed of or infused with "spirit"); also N. T. Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 351–52 (observing from 1 Cor 2 and Rom 7:4 that the -ικός suffix more naturally bears ethical or functional meaning rather than the substance of which a thing is composed [for which -ινός is more characteristic]).

[119] See § 4.2.1.

The second reason for Paul's somewhat unusual presentation of his spirit-temple image pertains to the odd structural features peculiar to 1 Corinthians. Commentators on this epistle have long observed the structural feature of alternating patterns (e.g., an ABA′ structure) in 1 Corinthians where topical discussions are suspended with intervening material and resumed at a later section.[120] A notable example is how Paul frames the discussion of spiritual gifts in 1 Corinthians 12 and 14 to surround the centering encomium to love. We have already found that Paul's discussion of "spiritual bread and spiritual drink" bears mutually interpretive textual points in 1 Corinthians 10 and 12 that encourage being read together.[121] Without leaning too heavily on structural arguments, the point is raised here to demonstrate that Paul can gradually draw out elements of a particular theme in 1 Corinthians, developing his arguments in sections that recur throughout the letter. Accordingly, what we might find in a compressed frame in 2 Corinthians 4–5, we find in a wider spread throughout 1 Corinthians (chapters 3, 6, 10, and 12).

Finally, the emphasis on the Spirit with respect to the temple image comports well with the broader teaching aims of 1 Corinthians concerning the Spirit. If we accept some version of the *Pneumatist* hypothesis[122] as contributing to an imbalanced view of the *pneuma* in Corinth (i.e., some within the community who refer to them-

[120] For a discussion of this feature in 1 Corinthians, see, e.g., Andrew David Naselli, "The Structure and Theological Message of 1 Corinthians," *Presbyterion* 44, no. 1 (2018): 98–114; Matthew R. Malcolm, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reversal in 1 Corinthians: The Impact of Paul's Gospel on His Macro-Rhetoric* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) (discussing ABA′ as a rhetorical form of oral patterning which structures the letter on a more macro level). See, e.g., the flanked discussion of weak and strong in 1 Cor 8:7–13 with 1 Cor 10:23–30, which surrounds a centering discussion on the related but different subject matter of Paul's own example of self-giving.

[121] See § 4.3.3–4.

[122] See, e.g., Horn, *Das Angeld des Geistes*, 182 ("Der polemische Grundton dieser Schulssmahnung lässt die Annahme einer speziellen innergemeindlichen Gruppe, die sich selbst πνευματικοί nennt, wahrscheinlich sein"); on the debates over whether Paul discusses only "spiritual gifts" or an identifiable group named "the spiritual ones," see, e.g., John David K. Ekem, "'Spiritual Gifts' or 'Spiritual Persons'? 1 Corinthians 12:1a Revisited," *Neotestamentica* 38, no. 1 (2004): 54–74. Our argument does not depend on the precise identification of the self-proclaimed

selves as "spiritual" and "zealous for spiritual gifts" [14:12, 37]), we can more clearly hear Paul's teaching of the *pneuma* as shifting importance away from individual claims of charismatic advancement and toward the shared, distributed aspect of the gift of the Spirit. In whichever way we describe the precise intergroup divisions with respect to "the spiritual ones" (τῶν πνευματκῶν), it remains certain that Paul's discussion in 1 Corinthians 12–14 diminishes the importance of spiritual gifts compared to the greater value in seeking to "build up the church" (14:12). Indeed, "if I have prophetic powers, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge . . . but do not have love, I am nothing" (13:2). In this light, Paul's direct connection with the Holy Spirit as denoting the community's identity as God's temple finds meaningful resonance. The concept of a spiritual temple comports well with the "building up" language that densely covers 1 Corinthians 12–14. Furthermore, the idea that "one and the same Spirit" gives gifts to the many members of the body also supports the overarching aim that the "things of the spirit" are not to be claimed as a marker of individual superiority or advancement, but rather in terms of the shared identity that they receive from God as the "temple of the Holy Spirit." The Spirit in their midst is not the means for one group of Corinthians to surpass others, but the sign that they are together God's temple.

4.3.6. The Relational-Spatial Ethos "in Christ" and Multicultural Unity

The shape of Paul's cultic horizon that he draws out in the Corinthian letters is relational-spatial. It is relational in that it principally concerns the formation of loving relationships within the community with respect to Christ (1 Cor 13). Paul enjoins them to "let all that you do be done in love" (16:14). Whereas a superior "knowledge puffs up" some members over the other, "love builds up" (8:1). It is spatial (or structural) in that Paul repeatedly casts the pattern of relationships in terms of sacred space and the duties that obtain from that symbolic complex. Taken together, the Corinthian calling is a "call to fellowship in the Son" (1:9). The temple overtones are confirmed by a repeated

"spiritual ones" in Corinth. It only requires that Paul is correcting an imbalance to the importance of "spiritual gifts" as a means of advancement over others.

appeal to the group as "God's temple" and "God's building" in which they are to be built on the foundation of Christ by wise leaders (3:10), and mutually "built up" with the spiritual gifts (14:26).[123]

Importantly, this cultic call is invested with an emphasis on "the nations" who call upon the name of the Lord. The watchword in this communal ethos is to "give no offense to the Jews, Greeks, and the *ekklesia* of God" (10:32). For this reason, the appeal to "temple" cannot be a generic appeal to sacred space and temples, which would have been an aspect of daily life in Roman Corinth.[124] By appeal to "God's temple," Paul invites comparison with the scriptural portraits of sacred space as well as the Jerusalem temple itself. This is confirmed among other evidence by Paul's identification of Christ as "paschal lamb" (5:7), by his appeal to the unleavened bread of the Passover feast (5:8, cf. Exod 12:15–20), and by his identification of the Corinthians with Israel in terms of "our fathers" (10:1). Framed by the statements in chapters 3 and 6 that the Corinthians are identified as "temple," the intervening discourse on purity, immorality, and idolatry fall fittingly within this cultic environment (1 Cor 5:3–6:20). This is given formal prominence in Paul's rearticulation of the Jewish *Shema* of one God and Lord Jesus Christ.[125]

The imagined cultic space is also richly informed by the Hebrew Bible. Paul invites his readers to reflect on Scripture's instructions concerning sacred space to help fill out the relational-structural space he articulates. Because they are God's temple, they must root out the evil within them in accordance with its scriptural norms (1 Cor 5:1–8;

[123] Paul develops the theme of "spiritual gifts" in chapter 12 in order to reinforce a pattern of "building" in 1 Corinthians 14 (vv. 3–5, 12, 17, 26). We have already seen references to the church as "God's building" (1 Cor 3:9) and to the leaders considering themselves builders who "build" (οἰκοδομέω) on the foundation of Christ (3:16–17). See also 1 Cor 8:1; 10:23; 14:3–26; On the significance of this imagery with respect to the temple, see Ciampa and Rosner, *Corinthians*, 376.

[124] *Pace* John R. Lanci, *A New Temple for Corinth: Rhetorical and Archaeological Approaches to Pauline Imagery* (New York: Peter Lang, 1997).

[125] On the significance of the expansion of *Shema*, among the many studies to reference, see recently Andrew Byers, "The One Body of the Shema in 1 Corinthians: An Ecclesiology of Christological Monotheism," *NTS* 62, no. 4 (2016): 517–32.

cf. Deut 23:2–9).[126] This invites his hearers to allow their own readings of the associated imagery of sacred space in Scripture to inform aspects of this new relational space they inhabit.[127] Paul draws on the wilderness account of Israel, complete with its covenantal injunctions not to provoke God's jealousy, to inform their own obligations to God within the community (1 Cor 10:22). Paul draws out a fuller explication of the *Shema* for the Corinthians: One God, the Father from whom are all things, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things (1 Cor 8:6).[128] These images further warn the Corinthians to maintain the temple presence with grave seriousness, for as it was with Israel, so it remains with the churches: God's presence is invariably a dangerous one.[129] Improperly observing the ritual elements risks severe penalties, even death (1 Cor 11:30).

[126] The command to "drive out the evil one from among you" is a Deuteronomic injunction: Deut 17:7; 19:19; 21:21. In 2 Cor 13:1, Paul invokes the Deuteronomic "law of witnesses" (Deut 19:15) for the judgment of immoral conduct on the account of "two or three witnesses." For the Old Testament and Deuteronomic background for this passage, see Ciampa and Rosner, *Corinthians*, 204–19; Newton, *Concept of Purity*, 86–97. Also Lincicum, *Paul and the Early Jewish Encounter* (particularly 119–66); and Grant Macaskill, "The Lord's Supper and Someone Else's Memory: *Do This in Remembrance of Me*," in his *Living in Union with Christ: Paul's Gospel and Christian Moral Identity* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2019), 97–114.

[127] Auerbach wrote of the Pentateuch's distinct ability to create not only a world that readers can imagine, but a world that readers are compelled to see as their world, and therefore compelled to inhabit. See Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 15 (observing that the Elohist's representation of reality was such that it intended to "overcome our reality: we are to fit our own life into its world, feel ourselves to be elements in its structure of universal history").

[128] Lincicum, *Paul and the Early Jewish Encounter*, 139 ("Paul does not present this as a *correction* or an *addition* to the *Shema*, but as an interpretation of it that discloses its true referent").

[129] See Macaskill, *Union with Christ*, 127 (discussing the imagery of glory in covenant contexts as a mobile and dangerous presence and its framing principles for New Testament accounts of new covenant and participation). See also, more recently, Michael K. W. Suh, *Power and Peril: Paul's Use of Temple Discourse in 1 Corinthians* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2020). It deserves mention at this point that the Deuteronomic appeal to "drive the evil from your midst" that Paul invokes in 1 Cor 5:1 is invariably a reference to death. Cf. Deut 17:7; 19:19; 21:21.

4.4. Conclusions

This chapter has followed through the Corinthian letters to demonstrate two of the three movements of our thesis. The first is that the new, heavenly temple for Paul is not a physical building, but rather Christ himself—a temple not made with hands. The second is that Paul regards the Spirit as actualizing Christ's presence with his people in the time of his physical absence away from them. These are two sides of the same reality for Paul. As we saw in 2 Corinthians 5, the Spirit is regarded as the "down payment," the completion of which is not perfected with more of the Spirit, but rather with the return of Christ himself with his people. Consequently, if by one Spirit, believers are joined to Christ as members of his body, and if the heavenly temple is understood to be Christ himself bodily, then believers can be rightly regarded as the body of Christ (1 Cor 12:27), the temple of God (1 Cor 3:16; 2 Cor 6:16), and the temple of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor 6:19). For these reasons, in Paul's understanding, the temple is now described in terms of personal relationships that are "built up" in Christ. In this heavenly temple, the people joined to Christ are also described in terms of sacred architecture—its leaders and members as pillars, stones, priests, and sacrificial offerings. These spatial dimensions of the "temple of the Holy Spirit" and its implications for the existing temple in Jerusalem will be the subject of further reflection in the following chapter.

5
One Spirit among Israel and God's Churches

YHWH is in his holy temple;
YHWH is enthroned in heaven.

Psalm 11:4

5.1. Movement Three: Jewish and Gentile Unity in One Spirit

The final movement of the thesis presents the argument that Paul's idea of "spiritual" unity did not seek to erase Jewish categories and practices; nor is it fully accurate to hold that "spiritual fulfillment" relativizes the differences of Jew and gentile in light of the new situation in Christ. Rather, Paul relied on the "Spirit" as the basis for unity so that in Christ, gentiles can join together with the irrevocable call and promises made to Israel. For Paul, there is one and the same Spirit for both Israel and for the nations. What is in view in this chapter is the larger penumbra of ideas that can be gathered under the characterization of supersessionism: the idea that the Christian church (to varying degrees) has occupied the place of Israel as the beneficiaries to God's promises and blessings.[1] Framed this way, while all Christian readings of the Hebrew Scriptures must in some

[1] See the helpful historical sketch by Terence L. Donaldson, "Supersessionism and Early Christian Self-Definition," *JJMJS*, no. 3 (2016): 1–32. Also R. Kendall Soulen, "Post-Supersessionism," in *Dictionary of Jewish-Christian Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); and Emmanuel Perrier,

sense be regarded to involve some form of "supersessionism," some readings in this spectrum move toward a completeness of Christian replacement of the Jewish people, the Hebrew Bible, and the Jerusalem temple without remainder.[2]

We know from the second-century reception of the New Testament writings that the Pauline dichotomy of the "spirit" over against the letter set in motion a new way of thinking through the nature of *spiritual fulfillment* in Christ that grew increasingly unmoored from their Jewish and scriptural antecedents.[3] But this drift does not appear present at the time of Paul's own use and understanding of the *pneuma*. Paul's vision of unity was indeed "spiritually" inflected, but that understanding of the Spirit was necessarily constrained by Israel's elect status and God's irrevocable call of them as his people (Rom 11:29). In this remaining section, I hope to draw out how Paul uses "spirit" discourse with respect to Israel and gentile churches in a way that affirms Israel's covenantal history, rather than simply replacing it without remainder. First, this involves a discussion of Paul's unitive strategy in 1 Corinthians, with special attention to his characterization of Israel and the strains in the communities that we can trace along Jewish and gentile lines. Second, I hope to draw out some of the logic of Jewish succession of sacred space, which will serve to improve our categories beyond simply either status quo readings (where Israel has

"The Election of Israel Today: Supersessionism, Post-Supersessionism, and Fulfillment," trans. Matthew Levering, *Nova et Vetera* 7, no. 2 (2009): 485–504.

[2] On the recent discussion over supersessionism in biblical studies, see J. Brian Tucker, *Reading Romans after Supersessionism: The Continuation of Jewish Covenantal Identity (New Testament after Supersessionism)* (Eugene, Ore.: Cascade, 2018) (and also accompanying entries in this collection); also § 6.2.2 and the discussion of N. T. Wright and his particular view of total messianic fulfillment of the covenants and the Jewish temple.

[3] On the unique early Christian emphasis on "spiritual" (πνευματικός) discourse and its potential for expansion in later Christian traditions, see John M. G. Barclay, "Πνευματικός in the Social Dialect of Pauline Christianity," in *The Holy Spirit and Christian Origins: Essays in Honor of James D. G. Dunn*, ed. Graham N. Stanton, Stephen C. Barton, and Bruce W. Longenecker (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 166–67. As applied to the spiritual readings in the line of Origen of Alexandria, see Henri de Lubac, *History and Spirit: The Understanding of Scripture according to Origen*, trans. Anne Englund Nash (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2007).

a separate covenant administration from the church) or supersessionist readings (where Israel collapses into the fulfillments of Christ and the church).

5.1.1. Constructing a "Thirdspace" for Jewish and Gentile Believers

Paul calls the Corinthian churches "God's temple," in relation with the Holy Spirit that dwells among them. This imagery necessarily calls to mind the physical temple in Jerusalem. Paul uses cultic imagery unique to Israel,[4] with reference to Israel's God,[5] and in the register of their Scriptures,[6] their covenants,[7] and their "fathers" (1 Cor 10:1). But in also referring to the Corinthian community as "the temple of the Holy Spirit," Paul's statements tug on his hearers to imagine this space in idealized terms beyond the Jerusalem temple. At the same time, Paul's appeal to the Spirit's dwelling as demarcating God's temple does not evacuate the Jewish character of Paul's new temple imaginary. Were it truly Paul's intention to transcend the temple and leave behind Jewish aspects of sacred space in favor of Christian ones, it would be curious for Paul to labor as he did to retain so many of the features of Israel's temple cult in his letters. It is important to bear in mind the well-known "temple warning inscription" restricting non-Jews from entering Herod's temple, which can be translated as follows: "No alien may enter within the balustrade around the sanctuary and the enclosure. Whosever is caught, on himself shall he put blame for the death which will ensue."[8] Such exclusionary barriers provide strong evidence that the Jewish temple itself was a symbol of division among Jews and gentiles. For gentile believers and Godfearers, the Jewish temple hardly recommends itself as a symbol for the unity of Jews and gentiles together.

One helpful conceptual device that can aid our understanding of Paul's cultic complex emerges from the insights of "spatial theory,"[9] particularly those ideas that elucidate modes of conceiving space amid binary conflict and contested notions of identity and place. Edward

[4] E.g., 1 Cor 5:6–8, 13; 9:13–14; 10:18, 23; 2 Cor 6:16.
[5] E.g., 1 Cor 8:4–6; 10:22.
[6] E.g., 1 Cor 1:2; 2:9; 9:8–10; 2 Cor 4:13–14; 6:16–18.
[7] E.g., 1 Cor 11:25; 2 Cor 3:3–6.
[8] *CIJ* 2.1400; *OGIS* II.598. See also Josephus, *Ant.* 15.11.5; *JW* 6.2.4.
[9] The methodological justification for the use of spatial theory was discussed in § 1.3.2.

Soja, an interdisciplinary social-geographer and urban theorist, developed the critical theory of "Thirdspace" as a way of articulating social space in ways that create room to resolve the impasses of either-or conflicts, bringing together groups or ideas that are usually deemed mutually exclusive or uncombinable. Soja's analysis, which develops Lefebvre's "trialectics of spatiality"[10] into the arena of urban planning, human geography, and social justice, articulates a framework for conceiving space that accounts for the simultaneously "real-and-imagined" ways in which space is lived and shared.[11] In this analysis Firstspace perspective refers to the conception of space in terms of the "real" material world, whereas a Secondspace perspective interprets and maps that reality—space as conceived and theorized. Thirdspace forms a social perspective that is a "creative recombination and extension . . . that builds" on both perspectives.

Soja's own theoretical aims in particular address the "deep divisions" that have arisen out of the postmodern critique of modernism resulting in discourse that has viewed opposing sides as irrevocably incompatible and uncombinable.[12] Soja draws out this critical strategy of Thirdspace, with which he attempts to "open up our spatial imaginaries to ways of thinking and acting politically that respond to all binarisms, to any attempt to confine thought and political action to only two alternatives, by interjecting an-Other set of choices."[13] In this mode of spatiality "the original binary choice is not dismissed entirely but is subjected to a creative process of *restructuring* that

[10] Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996). As we discussed in § 1.3.2, Soja relies principally on the philosophical theories of Henri Lefebvre's "trialectics of spatiality" as a means of reinterpreting space in terms of (1) the *perceived* space of physical production and location, (2) the conceived space of how that space is represented, planned, and/or theorized, and (3) the *sociality* of lived space, which is able to encompass the first two but also forms an openness to "other" understandings of space and social identity. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 1992).

[11] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 6.

[12] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 3–4.

[13] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 5. His capitalization of "Other" matches Lefebvre's capstone insight: "Il y a toujours l'Autre." E.g., Henri Lefebvre, *La présence et l'absence: Contribution à la théorie des représentations* (Paris: Casterman, 1980), 143.

draws selectively and strategically from the two opposing categories to open new alternatives."[14]

While Soja's theories pursue exchanges with a range of philosophical and interdisciplinary interlocutors and encompassing "a multiplicity of perspectives" (thus overinclusive for our task),[15] the concept of Thirdspace, as a heuristic device, still provides us with helpful categories that assist in naming Paul's own unitive strategy in his discourse concerning the "temple of the Holy Spirit," a union in which there is no longer Jew or gentile. The value of the theory for this project is in its capacity to explain how spatial reimagination can join together divides that have been deemed irreconcilable—something Paul can be regarded as attempting in forming Jewish and gentile unity in Christ. If the Firstspace perspective names the real, historical structure of the Jerusalem temple and all that its history and cultic ritual entails, and if the Secondspace perspective draws out the temple's more idealized and "spiritual" conception as a "temple of the Holy Spirit" in the age of the Messiah, Thirdspace can create a mode of spatial discourse that disrupts the categorical closures implicit in an *either* Jewish *or* spiritually universal binary. Paul's discourse can, in other words, be described in a creative Thirdspace that draws together both Jewish and gentile reference points but also appeals to a social space that is at the same time *neither*. In this unitive dimension, "neither circumcision nor uncircumcision count for anything" (1 Cor 7:19; Gal 6:15); there is "neither Jew nor Greek" but they are one in Christ (Gal 3:28). The "Other" alternative that presents itself is a space that selectively draws from both categories, remaining open to both, but also recombines both into a pattern of community that is more than the sum of its parts. Given Paul's proclivity to appeal to idealistic spatial images with real-world analogues, this set of spatial concepts can improve our categories of Paul's unitive strategy beyond what has in the past been presented as binary outcomes of either supersessionism or literal fulfillment. Paul creatively draws on the symbols of temple,

[14] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 5.

[15] On the limits and imprecision of Thirdspace, see the discussion of methodology and critical spatiality in § 1.3.2; notably, also Christopher Meredith, "Taking Issue with Thirdspace: Reading Soja, Lefebvre, and the Bible," in *Constructions of Space III: Biblical Spatiality and the Sacred*, ed. Jorunn Økland, J. Cornelis de Vos, and Karen J. Wenell (New York: T&T Clark, 2016), 75–103.

of Jewish Torah, and the Spirit's mediation of Christ's body as the new building material of this new imagined social space that seeks to unify dramatically divergent groups together.

5.1.2. Our Fathers Were All Baptized into Moses (1 Cor 10:1–11:1)

The most important place to begin this analysis is Paul's discussion of Israel in 1 Corinthians 10. Paul writes, "I do not want you to be unaware, brothers, that our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and all were baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea" (1 Cor 10:1–2). The use of familial language is a distinctive character of Paul's identity language,[16] but Paul's reference to "our fathers" in connection with the wilderness generation of Israel is exceptional as applied to a group of which most "were gentiles [ἔθνη]" (1 Cor 12:3). These markers of identity raise important questions for how Paul sought to negotiate the Corinthian identity in Christ as well as his regard for Israel *kata sarka* (1 Cor 10:18).[17]

Our starting point of 1 Corinthians 10 focuses upon the mutually interpretive links between chapters 10 and 12.[18] Both passages share a common subject of baptism and both passages are arranged around a repetition of the words "all" (πάντες) and "same" (αὐτος) to reinforce the common participation of what each group shares. More precisely, both Israel and the church are all baptized into (εἰς) someone (Moses for Israel, Christ for the *ekklesiai*). Israel, in 10:3–4, is depicted as all eating the "same spiritual bread" and drinking the "same spiritual drink"; in 12:13d, there is a corresponding match

[16] Cf. Joseph H. Hellerman, *The Ancient Church as Family* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001); Reider Aasgaard, *My Beloved Brothers and Sisters: Christian Siblingship in Paul* (London: T&T Clark, 2004).

[17] On the phenomena of Paul's negotiation of "nested identities" that were polymorphic and adaptable in the widely diverse setting of Roman Corinth, see Cavan W. Concannon, *"When You Were Gentiles": Specters of Ethnicity in Roman Corinth and Paul's Corinthian Correspondence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014); also Caroline E. Johnson Hodge, *If Sons, Then Heirs: A Study of Kinship and Ethnicity in the Letters of Paul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 120 ("As an 'entrepreneur of identity,' Paul manages both the multiple facets of his own identity as a teacher of gentiles and the new possibilities of aggregate identity for gentiles-in-Christ").

[18] See the prior discussion in § 4.3.4.

insofar as the church is given to drink of one spirit. Importantly both passages are also discussed in the context of idolatry.[19]

The didactic purpose of these parallels is known as Paul makes it explicit: "These things happened to them as an example, but they were written down for our instruction, on whom the end of the ages has come. Therefore, let anyone who thinks that he stands take heed lest he fall" (1 Cor 10:11–12).[20] In Paul's retelling of the wilderness account, Paul narrows down the liable to a few persons in their midst.

> "*All*" were baptized and shared the same spiritual bread and spiritual drink (10:1–4).
>
> With "*most*" of them, we are told, God was not pleased (10:5).
>
> "*Some*" of them were idolaters and indulged in fornication and so put Christ to the test and were destroyed (10:7–10).[21]

The aim here, particularly with the invocation of baptism and spiritual bread and drink, is that there are some among the Corinthians who "think they are standing" (10:12), presumably by virtue of a high view of the sacraments (baptism and Eucharist). The effectiveness of the analogy depends on the verity of the link between Israel and the Corinthians with respect to their sacramental eating and drinking. If *all* of Israel participated in the rites, and with *many* of them the Lord was displeased, and *some* of them died (10:4–10), then the warning must similarly warn against a magical sacramentalism apparently held

[19] It is often overlooked in this passage that Paul introduces the discussion of *ton pneumatikon* with a reminder that they were formerly led astray by mute idols, and only with the "holy spirit" are they now able to say, "Jesus is Lord" (12:1–3).

[20] Structurally, the reference to these things occurring as an example (ταῦτα δὲ τύποι ἡμῶν) (10:6) is framed with a reprisal of the phrase in v. 11 (ταῦτα δὲ τυπικῶς), drawing attention to the central exhortation to avoid the fall of the Israelites who indulged in *porneia* and idolatry and faced judgment (10:7–8).

[21] Again, structurally, there are five "all" clauses in 10:1–4, which are matched by the "many" and "some" clauses of verses 6–10. Wayne Meeks observes a form of rabbinic midrash in the structure of this passage that is shaped by a subtle exegesis of Exodus 32:6. Wayne A. Meeks, "'And Rose up to Play': Midrash and Paraenesis in 1 Corinthians 10:1–22," *JSNT* 16 (1982): 64–78.

by some of the Corinthians.[22] Even though the Corinthians participate in the body and blood of the Lord, they are not assured that they are protected from judgment due to licentious behavior. Indeed, Paul makes it clear that an improper observance of the Lord's Supper can result in judgment in the same way it did with Israel—"*all* are baptized and drink one Spirit," "*many* have fallen ill," and "*some* have died" (1 Cor 11:29–30; 12:12–13; cf. 10:5, 7–10). "Let us not put Christ to the test," Paul explains, "as some of them did and were destroyed" (10:9).

Along these lines Paul also presents a series of *participatory* actions that tie both groups together. This can be demonstrated in the following:

> Paul's hearers participate in the body and blood of Christ (10:16).
>
> Israel are "partners" (κοινωνοί) in the altar (10:18) and spiritual bread and drink (10:3).
>
> Those who offer to demons and not to God are "participants with demons" (10:20).

This is punctuated by the Deuteronomic appeal to the jealousy of the Lord (παραζηλοῦμεν τὸν κύριον) (10:22; cf. Deut 32:21).[23] The Corinthians are exhorted to continue the very same covenantal obligation that was placed upon Israel. Indeed, Paul's reference to idol sacrifices as offerings "to demons and not to God" itself is another

[22] See the discussion by Hays on Israel as a figure of the church, after which the church is called to regard itself as bearing the same covenantal duties to avoid provoking the Lord's jealousy (1 Cor 10:22; cf. Deut 32:21) and to avoid the real possibility of judgment in their present community. Richard B. Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination: Paul as Interpreter of Israel's Scripture* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 10–11.

[23] This quotation from the Song of Moses, naturally, involves the provocation to the Lord's jealousy, precisely with respect to idolatry. "They made me jealous with what is no god, provoked me with their idols" (αὐτοὶ παρεζήλωσάν με ἐπ᾽ οὐ θεῷ, παρώργισάν με ἐν τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτῶν). Cf. Matthew Thiessen, "'The Rock Was Christ': The Fluidity of Christ's Body in 1 Corinthians 10.4," *JSNT* 36, no. 2 (2013): 103–26.

quotation from the Song of Moses.[24] That these indicate Paul had the Song of Moses in mind becomes important when discussing the identity of the "rock that was Christ," and Deuteronomy 32's own well-known opening adulation of "God the Rock."

We need not speculate on whether Paul was merely inserting Christ back into Israel's experience for paraenesis,[25] or engaging in a form of midrashic instruction,[26] or whether this indicates Israel was saved by their sacramental participation. The much simpler point here is that Paul affirms Israel and inserts a modicum of continuity so that Israel's fathers are now understood as *their fathers* (the fathers of the gentile believers at Corinth). In this sense, Paul's discussion here is not entirely different from his recharacterization of Abraham and Isaac and the patriarchs in Romans and Galatians—Israel is still capable of being understood "*kata sarka*." But there is a new meaning given to the founding stories in light of Christ such that Israel points to and stands in line with the new reality in Christ (Gal 3:8).[27] The difference in 1 Corinthians, however, is that Paul is not only redrawing the ways in which Israel is understood in light of the new situation in Christ. Instead of viewing history sequentially, Paul appears to characterize Christ outside of history and explains how the identity and experience of both Israel and the churches are now joined with respect to Christ.[28]

5.1.3. Israel, the *Ekklēsiai*, and the Apostolic Decree—1 Corinthians 7–10

The discussion of idolatry in the previous section brings up another set of issues to examine regarding the Jewish character of the Corinthian *ekklēsiai*. In short, Paul appears to instruct the Corinthians as though they operate as gentiles alongside Israel and as though the

[24] Cf. 1 Cor 10:20 (θύσουσιν δαιμονίος καὶ ου θεῷ) with Deut 32:17 (ἔθυσαν δαιμονίους καὶ ου θεῷ).

[25] Cf. Hays, *Conversion of the Imagination*, 8–12.

[26] Cf. Meeks, "'And Rose up to Play.'"

[27] See, e.g., John M. G. Barclay, *Paul and the Gift* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 557–61.

[28] On the distinctly nonlinear aspect of Pauline time, see the insightful reflections of Alexandra R. Brown, "Kairos Gathered: Time, Tempo, and Typology in I Corinthians," *Interpretation* 72, no. 1 (2018): 43–55.

strictures of the Apostolic Decree are in effect. First Corinthians 7, introducing the first of six περὶ δὲ clauses, represents a shift in the letter to matters concerning what was written to Paul by his correspondents. From this point to chapter 10, he engages in (among other issues) an extended discussion on sexual immorality (πορνεία), food sacrificed to idols, and other forms of idolatry. While the list of issues addressed could be purely ad hoc, it is more than plausible, given what we can know from the evidence of Acts and the later occurring evidence, that these issues were grouped together for a particular reason.[29] These were matters of legal importance for the early Jesus movement as early churches worked out the provisions of the Apostolic Decree.[30] In other words, the combination of εἰδωλόθυτα (food sacrificed to idols) and πορνεία is unlikely an accidental or haphazard occurrence in this letter. The same coupling occurs together in Revelation 2:14, 20 (πορνεῦσαι καὶ φαγεῖν εἰδωλόθυτα), which also makes reference to the Decree.[31] Commentators note that the

[29] The claims of this thesis do not require resolution of the protracted debates concerning the reconcilability of the Lukan Paul and the epistolary Paul. The material drawn from Acts in this study does not handle the characterization of Paul's life or his theology—the principal area of contention in these debates. Instead, the arguments raised in this section center upon the nature and existence of the Apostolic Decree as reported in Acts, the Jewish scriptural reasoning appealed to in the Decree's formulation, and the plausibility of whether Paul's letters and the Corinthian correspondence in particular can be read consistently with the strictures and ethos of the Decree. Along with the evidence of Acts, knowledge of the Decree is attested to elsewhere in biblical and extrabiblical literature; see, e.g., Rev 2:14; Did. 63; Origen (*Cels.* 8.29–30). On the "brackish waters" of the larger debates concerning the Paul of Acts and the Paul of the epistles, see the extended discussion in Thomas E. Phillips, *Paul, His Letters, and Acts* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2009). See also n. 36 below.

[30] Paul's knowledge of and interaction with the decree were argued in John Coolidge Hurd, *The Origin of I Corinthians*, 2nd ed. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1983), 244–70; see also Robert Jewett, *Dating Paul's Life* (London: SCM Press, 1979). The claims made in his section will differ significantly with Hurd's more unconventional rereading of 1 Corinthians.

[31] Note especially Rev 2:24 with the summation to "lay no other burden" (οὐ βάλλω ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἄλλο βάρος), which hearkens to the account of Acts 15:28 (ἡμῖν μηδὲν πλέον ἐπιτίθεσθαι ὑμῖν βάρος πλὴν τούτων τῶν ἐπάναγκες). Cf. C. K. Barrett, "Things Sacrificed to Idols," *NTS* 11, no. 2 (1965): 139. Admittedly, nothing about *porneia* itself is de facto evidence that the Apostolic Decree is in view in the Corinthian material. The collocation with idol food, however, does begin

reference to Balaam, and its corresponding idolatry and immorality in Revelation 2, occur also in Paul's discourse in 1 Corinthians 7–10 and notably 10:8, where allusion is made to Baal Peor in the context of the Balaam accounts and its parallel references to idolatry and sexual revelry.[32] We know from historical evidence that after the apostolic period, Christian communities continued to heed these very prohibitions, likely with reference to observance of the Decree for both Jewish and gentile Jesus followers.[33] That Paul's churches are aware of the applicability of the Decree is supported in part by the density of references to idol food and *porneia* that are present throughout his letters (suggestive of gentile churches struggling to find ways of adhering to its scruples).[34]

Other scholars have noted the connection of Paul's specific injunctions concerning εἰδωλόθυτα and πορνεία with the norms of the Decree.[35] The stipulations of the Decree as we know it are recorded in Acts 15:20, 29,[36] and are typically classified into these four instructions as applicable to gentile followers of Christ:

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to build the case. But see *CD* 4.17–18; 5.6–11. In these examples the Qumran literature associates temple purity with the prohibitions of fornication, which defiles the temple.

[32] Cf. Jude 11–12; Barrett, "Idols," 139; also Ben Witherington III, "Not So Idle Thoughts about Eidolothuton," *TynBul* 44, no. 2 (1993): 250.

[33] So, e.g., Sib. Or. 2.96 (Pseud. Phocylides 31); Origen (*C. Cels.* 8.29–30) makes explicit reference to the Decree and indicates no qualms about Christian observance of its stipulations; see also Aristides, *Apol.* 15; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.6.3; Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 2.1.8.3ff. Cf. Richard Bauckham, "James and the Jerusalem Church," in *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting*, vol. 4, *Palestinian Setting*, ed. Richard Bauckham (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 466–67.

[34] Cf. 1 Cor 5:1; 6:18; 8:4; Rom 13:13; Gal 5:19; 1 Thess 4:3.

[35] On this, see notably Jacques Dupont, *Gnosis: La connaissance religieuse dans les Épîtres de Saint Paul* (Paris: Louvain, 1949), 265–377; Barrett, "Idols"; Witherington, "Not So Idle Thoughts about Eidolothuton"; on the denial that the Apostolic Decree is in view, see, e.g., Gordon D. Fee, "Εἰδωλόθυτα Once Again: An Interpretation of 1 Corinthians 8–10," *Biblica* 61, no. 2 (1980): 172–97.

[36] Since Baur's influential thesis concerning the Petrine/Pauline divisions within the earliest Christian communities, the methodological exclusion of Acts evidence from Pauline studies has long functioned as a prevailing norm in the scholarship (German scholarship in particular). Cf. Ferdinand Christian Baur, "Die Christuspartei in der korinthischen Gemeinde, der Gegensatz des petrinischen und

1. Abstain from things polluted by idols (ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀλισγημάτων τῶν εἰδώλων)
2. Abstain from sexual immorality (πορνεία)
3. Abstain from food that has been strangled (τοῦ πνικτοῦ)
4. Abstain from food "of blood" (τοῦ αἵματος)

Most recognize the terms of the Apostolic Decree as deriving from Leviticus 17–19 (in particular 17:8–9; 10–13). As Barrett has explained, it was natural for a Jew to put together the injunctions pertaining to food (whether offered to idols, properly slaughtered, or properly drained of its blood).[37] Bauckham offers a persuasive account of why precisely these four prohibitions were sufficient for enumeration by the early Christian churches (to the exclusion of others that are not named).[38] Prior to this point, the prevailing theories

paulinischen Christenthums in der ältesten Kirche, der Apostel Petrus in Rom," *Tübingen Zeitschrift für Theologie* 5, no. 4 (1831): 61–206. The influential works of Philipp Vielhauer and Ernst Haenchen are representative of scholars favoring the continued disjuncture between the Lukan Paul and the epistolary Paul. See Philipp Vielhauer, "Zum 'Paulinismus' der Apostelgeschichte," *EvT* 10 (1950): 1–15; Ernst Haenchen, "The Book of Acts as Source Material for the History of Earliest Christianity," in *Studies in Luke–Acts*, ed. J. Louis Martyn and Leander E. Keck (Nashville: Abingdon, 1966), 258–78. In Anglophone scholarship, by contrast, there continues to emerge a greater willingness to allow both Acts and the Pauline letters to serve as reliable and mutually supportive evidence for reconstructing Paul's life, theology, and mission. See, e.g., Colin Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989); Stanley E. Porter, *Paul in Acts* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2001), 187–206. See also the recent comments of Matthew Thiessen, *Paul and the Gentile Problem* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 167–69 (characterizing his thesis as coinciding with Luke's characterization of a Torah-observant Paul and approving of the use of the Lukan Paul to serve as an interpretive guide to the letters of Paul).

[37] The correct understanding of the injunctions on "blood" and "strangling" is difficult. Philo (*Spec.* 4.122) explains that the prohibition on blood concerns meat that has been killed by "strangling and choking" (ἄγχοντες καὶ ἀποπνίγοντες) and consequently improperly drained of its blood. Cf. Bauckham, "James and the Jerusalem Church," 460.

[38] Bauckham, "James and the Jerusalem Church"; see also Markus Bockmuehl, *Jewish Law in Gentile Churches: Halakhah and the Beginning of Christian Public Ethics* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 164–73 (locating the Pauline legal requirements for gentiles principally within the Noachide Commandments).

hypothesized either that such practices hindered table fellowship between Jewish and gentile Jesus followers,[39] or that these were features of the Noachide commandments to be applied for more universal application.[40] But as Bauckham argued, these four prohibitions are poorly tailored for such proposed ends. On commensality alone, provisions on pork, shellfish, and wine, among a host of other matters, are patently missing.[41]

Bauckham observed that the key to the selection of precisely these four prohibitions is explained by the catchphrase בתוך (amidst) in the Holiness Code (Leviticus 17–19). Bauckham's explanation is worth quoting in full:

> In Leviticus 17–18 (MT) there are five occurrences of the phrase "the alien who sojourns in your/their midst" (Lv. 17:8, 10, 12, 13; 18:26, all using בתוככם or בתוכם). Since two of these occurrences (17:10, 12) refer to the same prohibition repeated, there are in fact four commandments in Leviticus 17–18 which not only the Israelite but also "the alien who sojourns in your/their midst" is obliged to keep. These correspond to the four prohibitions of the apostolic decree, in the order in which they occur in the apostolic letter (Acts 15:29).[42]

Bauckham connects this idea of the *nations* who are joined with God's people with key Jewish texts that speak of those who "shall dwell in the midst" of Israel (most importantly, Amos 9:11–12, which stands at the climax of the speech of James in the Acts 15 account). Bauckham observes a deliberate conflation of texts in Acts 15:16–20, employing the Jewish exegetical strategy of *gezera shawa*, which converge on the mutually interpretive locution concerning

[39] E.g., Philip Francis Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts: The Social and Political Motivations of Lucan Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 98–99; see also the broader discussion in Jack T. Sanders, *The Jews in Luke-Acts* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 120.

[40] E.g., Bockmuehl, *Jewish Law*, 146–67; also David R. Catchpole, "Paul, James and the Apostolic Decree," *NTS* 23, no. 4 (1977): 429; and Hans-Joachim Schoeps, *Paulus: Die Theologie des Apostels im Lichte der judischen Religionsgeschichte* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1959), 66–67.

[41] Bauckham, "James and the Jerusalem Church," 459–67.

[42] Bauckham, "James and the Jerusalem Church," 461.

the nations who dwell "in the midst" of Israel. These include Jeremiah 12:16^{LXX} (ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ λαοῦ μου | בתוך אמי); also Zechariah 2:11a^{LXX} (2:15a: κατασκηνώσουσιν ἐν μέσῳ σου | ושׁכנתי בתוכך).[43] The bringing together of these texts connects ideas of "building" an eschatological people, with the gentile nations who are "built in the midst of my people" (Jer 12:16), a people upon whom God's name is invoked, thereby extending Israel's covenant status as God's people to the gentile nations. The import of the Apostolic Decree in Acts 15, per Bauckham, is that "the nations *qua* Gentiles belong to YHWH" and, as such, are "included in the covenant relationship (God's name has been invoked over them). Thus, whereas Gentiles could not enter God's presence in the old Temple without becoming Jews, in the new Temple of the messianic age . . . they could do so as Gentiles."[44]

In this light, the four provisions of the Apostolic Decree were not an eclectic summary of gentile Christian ethics, nor was it a compromise for proper Jew-gentile table fellowship, but a rigorous exegetical solution to how gentiles, who now dwell in the midst of Israel as beneficiaries to Israel's covenant promises and blessings, are to live under Torah. It named a scriptural basis for the manner in which gentiles were recognized under the aegis of God's covenant with Israel, and how they were to dwell in the midst of God's temple presence in the eschatological age. Crucially, this explicitly denied full proselytization or circumcision of gentiles as a basis to receive this covenant status. The purity demands of God's temple presence require gentile inclusion with God's people to conform to the Holiness Code, which is precisely where the Decree purports to derive these legal commandments.[45]

The majority view is that Paul does not know the Apostolic Decree as recited in Acts, at least not in his first writing of 1 Corinthians.[46] The

[43] The conflated texts built around Amos 9:11–12 include allusions to Hosea 3:5; Jer 12:15; Isa 45:21. The fuller discussion is worth consulting and cannot be resummarized here. See Bauckham, "James and the Jerusalem Church," 453–61.

[44] Bauckham, "James and the Jerusalem Church," 458. Note, the theme of the Nations offering up worship to the Lord in every place as those calling upon the *name* of the Lord is precisely how Paul begins 1 Corinthians; see § 4.1.

[45] See, e.g., Terrance Callan, "The Background of the Apostolic Decree (Acts 15:20,29, 21:25)," *CBQ* 55, no. 2 (1993): 284–97. See n. 29 above.

[46] See Paul J. Achtemeier, "An Elusive Unity: Paul, Acts, and the Early Church," *CBQ* 48, no. 1 (1986): 1–26. Achtemeier concludes that the Acts

standard reasons are that the Decree is not appealed to in the Antioch Incident (Gal 2) and our present passage (1 Cor 8–10), where it would have been of most use to him.[47] But this line of reasoning is fairly quick. What would an appeal to the Decree actually contribute to Paul's discussion of *idol food* and *porneia* in 1 Corinthians 8–10? The very reason that Paul addresses it as part of the "matters [they] wrote about," if anything, likely demonstrates that all sides took for granted the operable provisions of the Decree and the accompanying duties and controversies they generate. The issue appears not to be whether the Decree governs the issue at all, but rather the extent and application of its stipulations in daily living. Bockmuehl affirms that 1 Corinthians 5–10 "clearly parallels the halakhic concerns of Acts 15," reading it almost as a "commentary on the Decree."[48]

Witherington makes the case that Paul's argument in 1 Corinthians 8 and 10 reinforces the injunction on idol food in a pagan context. Given the use of Exodus 32:6 in 1 Corinthians 10:7 (with its reference to Israel's "playful" idolatry at the golden calf incident), Paul has in view not simply Jewish scruples about meat sold or consumed in temple precincts, but rather the type of full-fledged idolatry which would trigger the strictures of the Decree.[49] Bauckham has also argued that Paul's letters do, in fact, reveal an awareness of the Decree, and poses the provocative suggestion that it was in fact some of his teaching reflected in 1 Corinthians 10 regarding idol meat that was the decisive point of dissociation between himself and Silas.[50]

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accounts can be reconciled with the Jerusalem visits reported in Galatians, and therefore preserves space for Paul's conflicts in Antioch to inform the basis for the Decree. Against this, see Catchpole, "Paul, James and the Apostolic Decree," 430 (arguing that not only do the accounts of Acts 15 and Gal 2 likely refer to the same conflict, but also that the "presuppositions of the Decree would have been repugnant to Paul").

47 E.g., W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology* (1965; repr., Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 119; Cf. Bockmuehl, *Jewish Law*, 167–68. See also Fee, "Εἰδωλόθυτα Once Again," 183.

48 Bockmuehl, *Jewish Law*, 168 (citing Marcel Simon, "The Apostolic Decree and Its Setting in the Ancient Church," in *Le Christianisme antique et son contexte religieux* [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1981], 437).

49 Witherington, "Not So Idle Thoughts about Eidolothuton," 247–48.

50 Bauckham, "James and the Jerusalem Church," 470–71.

If we are correct that Paul and his churches operated with a version of the Apostolic Decree, as we know it from Acts 15, then we are in the territory of understanding the Corinthian letters revealing ways in which early Christian communities struggled to understand how Jewish Christians and gentile Christians were to worship alongside one another. Paul, by never wanting to impose any obstacle for the gospel for the sake of gentiles (1 Cor 9:12), strenuously opposes the Judaizing of gentile believers; but this does not imply that the law is completely set aside for Jewish believers. If "weakness" in Paul's various weak/strong discourses (e.g., Romans 14–15) corresponds to those wrestling with Jewish customs,[51] then there is good reason to find that Paul recognizes the struggles of those Jews in Christ striving to keep the traditions of the fathers (1 Cor 8:11). As in Acts 15, Jewish Christians did not cease keeping Torah, but instructed gentile believers that they could proceed with "no further burden" than the four stipulations that derive from Leviticus 17. This principle begins to better explain the different categories of persons with respect to the law in 1 Corinthians 9:19–23 (whether Jewish, or those under the law, or those outside the law but under the law of Christ, or the "weak").[52] Indeed, this contextual configuration provides the basis for the most natural reading of the difficult 1 Corinthians 7:19: "Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing; but obeying the commandments of God is everything." In a situation where the Decree regulates the Corinthian churches, Paul speaks to two different groups of believers who uphold Torah in their respective ways—Jewish believers who (subject to their regard for their gentile siblings) assume the full burden of the Torah, and gentile believers who live as those "in the midst" of Israel and uphold only those commandments applicable to them.

While space will not permit a full exposition of this principle in his other letters, it is interesting to observe how some of Paul's more puzzling statements with regard to the Torah work better in a context where Jewish Christians keep the commandments in their distinct

[51] See also the discussion in p. 147n53 and p. 210n4.

[52] Cf. Mark D. Nanos, "Paul's Relationship to Torah in Light of His Strategy 'to Become Everything to Everyone' (1 Cor 9:19–23)," in *Reading Corinthians and Philippians within Judaism* (Eugene, Ore.: Cascade, 2017), 4:52–92.

expression and likewise gentile believers observe Torah under the law of Christ (and presumably the Torah as applied to the *nations in the midst of Israel*). Both the circumcised and the uncircumcised who are justified by faith are said to "uphold the law" (Rom 3:31), just as the circumcised and uncircumcised are urged not to change their status, since what matters is "keeping the commandments of God" (1 Cor 7:19). Paul's discussion in Romans 14–15 concerning the weak and the strong, a passage that resonates with matters pertaining to observing the Torah,[53] concludes with an exhortation to "bear [βαστάζειν] with the weak" (15:1). Likewise, Galatians elucidates the "law of Christ" in terms that they "bear [βαστάζετε] one another's burdens" and importantly, that they "bear one's own load" (ἕκαστος γὰρ τὸ ἴδιον φορτίον βαστάσει) (Gal 6:2, 5). The language of "bearing" (βαστάζειν) and "burden" (which is not common in Paul) speaks in the tenor and diction of Acts 15:10, 28, wherein gentile believers are not placed with a *burden* that Israel has been unable to bear (βαστάσαι).

We know from history that this unified vision of "the nations . . . built up in the midst of" Israel (Jer 12:16), not only failed to take shape as Paul hoped, but any prospects of fulfilling such prophetic unification effectively splintered after the events of 70 CE, growing increasingly fractious as the polemics of later generations eventually gave way to mutual cursing.[54] To continue with the carefully balanced

[53] The conflicts between "weak" and "strong" are not neatly divided along Jewish and gentile lines, but the appeal to "clean" food (Rom 14:14, 20) and the reference to "days" are best explained with reference to Jewish customs concerning food and Sabbath. See Barclay, *Gift*, 511; also Volker Gäckle, *Die Starken und die Schwachen in Korinth und in Rom* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005); cf. Mark Reasoner, *The Strong and the Weak: Romans 14.1–15.13 in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[54] We gather from the early Christian witnesses, not least Justin, that the divide of Jews and Christian "gentiles" was already in process within the second generation of Christian churches. By Tertullian, the divide is much more pronounced: "Out of the womb of Rebecca, 'two peoples and two nations were about to proceed,'—of course those of the Jews, that is of Israel; and of the Gentiles, that is ours. . . . Beyond doubt, through the edict of the divine utterance, the prior and 'greater' people—that is the Jewish—must necessarily serve the 'less'; and the 'less' people—that is the Christian—overcome the 'greater.'" Tertullian, *Answer to the Jews* 1.2. On the reciprocal cursing among Jews and Christians, see Hillel I. Newman, "The Death of Jesus in the Toledot Yeshu Literature," *JTS* 50,

arrangement of Jewish and gentile Christians together in mutual, coordinated worship without the temple would prove too much to overcome. But Paul's letters are innocent of the temple's destruction, and the historical outcome cannot be read backward into Paul's apostolic efforts for unified worship of the one God by both Jews and gentiles.

5.1.4. Macrocosmic Temple and Expanding Categories of Sacred Space

Expanding the conversation over temple replacement or "supersessionism" requires a better handling of the logic of sacred space in the Hebrew Bible. The emergence of a new or heavenly iteration of temple, at least in the Hebrew Bible, does not signal the obsolescence or eradication of the former holy places. In Solomon's prayer of dedication of the temple (1 Kgs 8), he asks: "Will God indeed dwell on the earth? Even heaven and the highest cannot contain you, much less this house that I have built" (8:27). The temple is a "house for the name of the LORD, the God of Israel" (8:17), but he also is the God who hears "from heaven, [his] dwelling place" (8:30). The connection portrayed here between God's house in the earthly temple and the heavenly temple is indeed not simple but multilayered. The multiplicity of dimensions in the heavenly and earthly registers of God's dwelling has often been analyzed under the rubric of a macrocosmic temple,[55] in which the earthly temple serves as a copy, the symbology of which represents the whole universe.[56] Accordingly, that there is a

no. 1 (1999): 59–79; and Ruth Langer, *Cursing the Christians? A History of the Birkat HaMinim* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 16–40.

[55] The seminal insights derive from W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1953), 142–55; this argument was given fuller articulation in Jon D. Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil* (1988; repr., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 78–99; and in Jon D. Levenson, *Sinai and Zion* (New York: HarperCollins, 1987), 111–84. See also James R. Davila, "The Macrocosmic Temple, Scriptural Exegesis, and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," *DSD* 9 (2002): 1–19.

[56] Josephus explains that the tabernacle, its architecture, instruments, and priestly vestments, were all "made in way of imitation and representation of the universe [διατύπωσιν τῶν ὅλων]" (*Ant.* 3:181); also Philo, *Moses* 2.98–103; also *JW* 5.212–13. See also Wis 18:24 ("For on his long robe the whole world was depicted"); Sir 45:8; 50:7 (describing the high priest's appearance "like the morning star among the clouds").

spiritual dimension to the physical, earthly temple is decidedly not a Christian innovation, but also a key feature of Jewish literature.

Levenson explains that "the Temple and the world, God's localization and his ubiquity, are not *generally* perceived in the Hebrew Bible as standing in tension."[57] Psalm 11:4 places these sacred locales together in parallel congruence:

> YHWH is in his holy temple;
> YHWH is enthroned in heaven.

This notion of correspondence between the heavenly and earthly temples is indebted in no small part to the tradition found in Exodus 25:9, wherein God instructs Moses to build the sanctuary "in accordance with all that I show you concerning the pattern of the tabernacle and all of its furniture" (Exod 25:9).[58] Beginning largely with the traditions embedded within the Prophets, one can find the focal point of the ancient Hebrew traditions moving away from the earthly temple and toward visions of the heavenly temple in session with its angelic retinue.[59] These passages in turn inspire the conceptual license for other Second Temple texts (e.g., 1 Enoch 14, Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, and Temple Scroll) to portray a heavenly temple with its host of angelic priests and cultic analogues to correlate with the earthly temple. Thus, for example, in 1 Enoch 14 the floor of snow (14:10) and the ceiling of fire and lightning (14:11) signify not the living cherubim surrounding the throne, but the woven cherubim symbolism hanging on walls of the tabernacle (Exod 26:1, 31; 36:8) or engraved on the walls of the temple (1 Kgs 6:29; Ezek

[57] Levenson, *Sinai*, 138. He explains that "the earthly Temple is the world *in nuce*; the world is the Temple *in extenso*. Temple and world do not stand in dialectical tension but in a relationship characterized by complementarity" (141); see also his elaboration on these remarks in Jon D. Levenson, "The Temple and the World," *Journal of Religion* 64, no. 3 (1984): 275–98.

[58] Also Philo, *Her.* 112 ("God . . . prepared in a symbolical manner [συμβολικῶς] the sacred tabernacle and the things in it, a thing made after the model and in imitation of wisdom"); also Wis 9.8 ("You have given command to build a temple on your holy mountain, and an altar in the city of your habitation, a copy of the holy tent that you prepared from the beginning").

[59] Cf. Isa 6:1–8; Ezek 1:1–28; 10:20.

41:15–26).[60] Likewise the "watchers and holy ones" of 1 Enoch 14 are those who "draw near to him . . . by night or by day" and "do not depart from him" (14:22–23). Significant here is the allusion of the term "to draw near" (ἐγγίζω), which echoes a key LXX term for priests in cultic contexts serving in the sanctuary.[61]

That Paul refers to God's temple in terms other than the Jerusalem temple is not de facto evidence that Paul's *pneuma* replaces or supersedes the temple. This is consistent with the way the Hebrew Scriptures elsewhere describe sacred space. While the temple at Mount Zion was to be known as the enduring dwelling place of the Lord (1 Kgs 8:13; Ps 68:16), the Scriptures repeatedly reserve space for God's presence to be more than the temple. Solomon's dedicatory prayer articulates this very point: not even the highest heavens can contain God (1 Kgs 8:27). It is a feature of Scripture to speak of only a portion of God's presence to reside with his people. It is *his name* that dwells there; it is only a portion of him that Moses is permitted to see.[62]

Accordingly, the import of a corresponding fit between the heavenly and the earthly temples does not imply that both registers must visibly agree together in harmonic concord at every point in time. In fact, there is a distinct strand in Old Testament and Second Temple texts that view the heavenly temple and the cultic service of the heavenly host as linked despite the fact that the earthly analogue appears to the contrary. The import is on the symbolic nexus the space possesses with respect to the heavenly reality. Accordingly, even during the first exile (587–539 BCE), as the temple lay in ruins, Israelites were called to direct their prayers toward the place upon which the

[60] Also Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 15.

[61] Cf. Ezek 33:13–16; 45:4; also "day and night," cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 7.367 and Rev 4:8. Also George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee," *JBL* 100, no. 4 (1981): 585n37; and Himmelfarb, *Ascent*, 20.

[62] Deut 12:11; Exod 33:18–23. Cf. Benjamin D. Sommer, *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) (contending for a divergent set of traditions perceivable in the various forms of divine epiphanies and iterations of sacred space).

temple stood (and was expected to stand again).[63] The temple mount is regarded as an axis point of heaven and earth—the cosmic mountain as a permanent, accessible testament that God is on his throne. This is why Daniel directs his prayers in the direction of Mount Zion even though the temple is razed (Dan 6:11). Levenson writes that "Zion represents the possibility of *meaning above history*, out of history, through an opening into the realm of the ideal. . . . The two tiers, the earthly and the heavenly, are not closed to each other, but open, and interpenetrating on Zion."[64]

Interestingly, some of the Jewish apocalyptic texts can speak in terms of the fusion of heavenly and earthly temples.[65] So in the vision of 4 Ezra, the angel instructs Ezra "to go into the field where there was no foundation of any building, for no man's building could endure in a place where the city of the Most High was to be revealed" (10:54). Ådna persuasively demonstrates that the destroyed city of Jerusalem portrayed in this chapter is restored in the temple that subsumes the place where the old temple lay in ruins—the temple built by the hands of man.[66] Explains Tiwald, "it was a widespread assumption . . . that the temple in Jerusalem would not prevail in eschatological times, because the handmade temple had to be replaced by the true eschatological temple of God. . . . [I]n the eschaton, this heavenly temple would be transferred down to earth."[67] The vision of 1 Enoch

[63] Levenson, *Sinai*, 125, 175.

[64] Levenson, *Sinai*, 141–42.

[65] R. J. McKelvey, *The New Temple: The Church in the New Testament* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 40 ("Since the heavenly temple is the new temple it follows that it must one day descend to earth [which in turn leads to an account of how the] fusion of the concept of the heavenly temple and the new temple found its logical outcome in the conviction that in the eschatological age when God dwelt with his people in a new and unprecedented way he would bring his temple with him from heaven.").

[66] Jostein Ådna, *Jesu Stellung zum Tempel: Die Tempelaktion und das Tempelwort als Ausdruck seiner Messianischen Sendung* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 47–48; also Markus Tiwald, "Christ as Hilasterion (Rom 3:25): Pauline Theology on the Day of Atonement in the Mirror of Early Jewish Thought," in *The Day of Atonement: Its Interpretations in Early Jewish and Christian Traditions*, ed. Thomas Hieke and Tobias Nicklas (Leiden: Brill Academic, 2011), 200.

[67] Tiwald, "Hilasterion," 200; see also 1 En. 90.28–29; 4 Ezra 10.54.

similarly reports the "ancient house being transformed" into a "new house, greater and loftier than the first one" and established in the same location as the first (1 En. 90:28–29).[68]

The distinctive genius (or peculiarity) of early Christian and Pauline reflection along these lines is that the heavenly iteration of God's dwelling is described in terms of a person. The earliest Christians, reflecting on the identity of a divine Christ in relationship with his people, applied to him the only analogue they knew that could name this reality: the heavenly temple, *God with us*. Christ becomes recognized as the temple not made by hands, eternal in the heavens (2 Cor 5:1–2). Leaders of the church are then correspondingly understood in terms of sacred *architecture* in a relational-structural pattern as both pillars and members of his body (and at least in later Christian tradition, living stones of the temple).[69] Certainly, this early Christian formulation bears significant points of departure with the Jewish texts. In locating the temple around Christ, Paul appeals to a range of diverse images of sacrifice and the altar, and most importantly, recharacterizes "access" to God in a relationship of unprecedented love and intimacy (Rom 5:1–5; 2 Cor 3:17–18). But Pauline thought necessarily draws on Jewish reflections of the temple to inform and invest the earthly symbols of sacred space with new meaning. Paul saw with the arrival of Jesus Christ a fusion of horizons between the heavenly and the earthly ways of conceiving the temple presence of God.

Consequently, this heavenly reality in Christ does not imply that something was deficient or defunct for the ongoing Jewish practice of the law, the covenant, and temple worship.[70] Indeed, the evidence

[68] Also Hag 2:9 ("[T]he latter glory of this house shall be greater than the former").

[69] Cf. 1 Cor 3:10 (Christ as the foundation of God's building); cf. Rev 21:22; Gal 2:9 (the apostles as "pillars"); cf. Rev 21:14; also Eph 2:20–21; Mk 12:10; Matt 21:42; Acts 4:11; 1 Pet 2:4–8. The Petrine tradition of the rock upon which the church is built is supplemented by later traditions with James as occupying a role as "the rampart" of the people or "wall" of the people. Cf. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 2.23.7 with Isa 54:12; see also C. K. Barrett, "Paul and the 'Pillar' Apostles," in *Studia Paulina*, ed. J. N. Sevenster and W. C. van Unnik (Haarlem: Bohn, 1953), 1–20.

[70] For a recent discussion of supersession in interpreting cultic metaphors (in a Petrine but also Pauline context), see now Max Botner, "The Essence of a Spir-

is thin that Paul regarded his mission as establishing "churches" that were separate in identity and administration from Israel's covenant. On the contrary, Paul regarded his calling as standing in line with the prophet Jeremiah.[71] If we think in spatial terms, Paul regarded the inhabited world with Jerusalem still at the center. In Galatians 2:1–10, we catch a glimpse of his self-understanding of his "mission to the uncircumcised" as that which emanates out from Jerusalem. While he wants to make clear that the "right hand of fellowship" from the pillar apostles did not "contribute anything to [him]" (Gal 2:6), he still regards the corresponding "mission to the circumcised" as linked in a mutual effort, sharing the same concerns, and having its bearings centered on Jerusalem. In Romans, we find Paul describing the "collection" as an offering of the gentiles, its symbolic value cast not only in cultic terms, but in terms of the location on which it is offered: Jerusalem and the temple.[72]

A simplistic supersessionist reading of Paul that supplants the Jerusalem temple with a Christian temple of the Holy Spirit fails to grapple with the fact that Paul, alongside other Jewish traditions on the succession of sacred space, can negotiate multiple dimensions of thinking about the Temple. There is no Jewish tradition that regards Bethel as having been superseded by the tabernacle, or that Sinai has been wholly replaced by Zion. Rather, what is disclosed of the heavenly reality informs what can be known of the existing earthly

itual House: Misunderstanding Metaphor and the Question of Supersessionism in 1 Peter," *JBL* 139, no. 2 (2020): 409–25. For a broader history of Pauline scholarship on Israel and the church, see Christopher Zoccali, *Whom God Has Called: The Relationship of Church and Israel in Pauline Interpretation, 1920 to the Present* (Eugene, Ore.: Pickwick, 2014).

71 Cf. Gal 1:15; Jer 1:5; and Isa 49:1–6. On the self-identification of Paul with Jeremiah's calling, see Scott J. Hafemann, "Paul's 'Jeremiah' Ministry in Reverse and the Reality of the New Covenant," in *Paul's Message and Ministry in Covenant Perspective: Selected Essays* (Eugene, Ore.: Cascade, 2015), 107–15; cf. Lutz Doering, "The Commissioning of Paul: Light from the Prophet Jeremiah on the Self-Understanding of the Apostle?" in *Jeremiah's Scriptures: Production, Reception, Interaction, and Transformation*, ed. Hindy Najman and Konrad Schmid (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 544–65.

72 Romans 15:16–33; 1 Cor 16:1–5. Cf. David J. Downs, *The Offering of the Gentiles: Paul's Collection for Jerusalem in Its Chronological, Cultural, and Cultic Contexts* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016).

symbols. The arrival of a newer temple does not signal the obsolescence of the other. On the contrary, in the examples reviewed, it appears that the physical and the heavenly registers of sacred space belong together, relate to one another, and correspond with each other (even in cases where the physical state diverges in appearance from the function and purity of the heavenly version). If the earthly tabernacle appears destroyed and "wasting away," there is a "heavenly dwelling," a "building from God . . . not made with hands" that the Spirit guarantees will house God's people (2 Cor 4:16–5:1).

If we operate along the standard burdens of proof, Paul's undisputed letters were innocent of the knowledge of the destruction of the Jerusalem temple—a fact that both informs and constrains Paul's cultic and temple-inflected imagery.[73] And even after the destruction of the temple, it was the expectation of Israelites that the temple would be rebuilt on Mount Zion (e.g., 4 Ezra 10:45–55). Even to this day, faithful Jews pray the *Amidah* at synagogue: "May it be your will, O my God and God of my fathers, that the Temple be rebuilt speedily in our days."

5.2. Thirdspace and Not Third Race

Returning to our heuristic spatial paradigm of Thirdspace, Paul's antithetical schema of a united group that is "neither Jew nor Gentile" and "neither circumcision nor uncircumcision" has led some to conclude that a new entity emerges in Paul's gospel in terms of a "third race" of the Christian church that transcends the former categories in racial or ethnic terms.[74] Along these lines Boyarin argued that Paul relied on *pneuma* to erase ethnic distinctions in his desire to

[73] Also Paula Fredriksen, *Paul: The Pagans' Apostle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), xii.

[74] E.g., Michael F. Bird, *An Anomalous Jew: Paul among Jews, Greeks, and Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), 54; N. T. Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2013), 1143–49; also Love L. Sechrest, *A Former Jew: Paul and the Dialectics of Race* (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 164, 210. On early attestations of Christians as "third race" or "new race," see Tertullian, *Ad Nationes*, 1.8.1; *Apologeticum* 42; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 1.4.2. The "third race" motif first appears in the *Preaching of Peter*. E.g., Abraham J. Malherbe, "The Apologetic Theology of the Preaching of Peter," *Restoration Quarterly* 13, no. 4 (1970): 220–21 ("*Preaching* is the first Christian writing to demonstrate the church's self-consciousness by dividing humanity into Greeks, Jews,

overcome all difference that they be transmuted into the Hellenistic One.[75] Likewise, for Wright the "third race [or] something approaching it" is a "strange new thing" that he feels constrained to discuss in terms of "race" (provided we use the term in ancient rather than anachronistic contexts).[76] Even the recent and engaging proposal from Joshua Garroway, while disagreeing with Wright's characterization of a transcendent "third race," nevertheless still reaches for a synthetic ethnic marker when characterizing Paul's identity language for gentiles as forming a hybridized identity as "Gentile Jews."[77]

This study has sought to provide another way of characterizing Paul's unity discourse that does not rely on elusive notions of race and ethnicity per se, nor the spiritual reconstitution of ethnicity in Paul's own discourse. After all, "third race" is not found in Paul. And even where it appears in the early Christian literature of the second century and onward, the epithet of Christians as a "third race" scarcely resembles the criterion for "ethnicity," whether evaluated from modern or ancient standards.[78] Erich Gruen's able handling of the occurrences of "third race" in early Christian texts explains that what is in view by the term is not an ethnic identification vis-à-vis Jews and Greeks, but rather most naturally refers to the cultic distinctives of the Christian community and the way God is worshipped among the three religious groups (Jews, gentiles, and Christians).[79] Applied to Paul, his unitive strategy strives to locate Jews and gentiles in a transformed understanding of shared cultic space, rather than necessarily requiring any ethnic or racial natures to be transformed. Paul instructs both the circumcised and the uncircumcised to each "remain in the con-

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and Christians as three races. Christians are said to worship God as a third race in a new way"); cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 6.5, 41.

[75] Daniel Boyarin, *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 7.

[76] Wright, *PFG*, 1448–49.

[77] Joshua D. Garroway, *Paul's Gentile-Jews: Neither Jew nor Gentile, but Both* (New York: Macmillan, 2012).

[78] E.g., Herodotus, *Hist.* 8.144.2–3 (in an oft-cited passage listing the characteristics for "Greekness" in terms of common blood, language, sacrifices, and traditional life patterns and traditions).

[79] Erich S. Gruen, "Christians as a 'Third Race': Is Ethnicity at Issue?" in *Christianity in the Second Century: Themes and Developments*, ed. James Carleton Paget and Judith Lieu (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 241–42.

dition in which [they] were called" (1 Cor 7:17–20).[80] The various differences are neither transformed, nor transcended; instead they are accommodated in a new kind of social pattern that requires mutuality of other-regard and sacrificial giving for the sake of communal unity. For Paul, the unity that the Spirit establishes is not ethnic, but cultic—accommodating the ways in which Jews and gentiles can be joined in their distinct practices of worship.

The concept of Thirdspace is helpful here precisely because of its ability to open new ways to describe how Paul strives to draw together opposing viewpoints to inhabit a shared sense of space together without conflating into one another. Using the trialectic scheme in critical spatial theory, if the "temple" can be commonly discussed both materially and symbolically (Firstspace and Secondspace, respectively, as places both real and idealized), Paul opts for a more creative and distinctly relational aspect of conceiving and articulating the way space is communicated. The rubric of Thirdspace provides better conceptual categories to name Paul's own spatial discourse in service of Jew-gentile unity. In the context of remediating deep divisions, Soja says of Thirdspace, "the original binary choice is not dismissed entirely but is subjected to a creative process of *restructuring* that draws selectively and strategically from the two opposing categories to open new alternatives."[81]

Applied to Paul, the new creation "in Christ" brings Jews and gentiles together without necessarily altering their ethnicity or cultural traditions. What is "new" is the space that they inhabit together, a "temple of the Holy Spirit" that is neither fully Jewish (the inclusion of the gentiles expands the underlying temple cult) nor fully gentile (gentiles worship "the One God" of the Jewish *Shema* and carry on the same oath of covenant loyalty [1 Cor 8:6; 10:22]). In critical spatial terms, Paul creatively recombines Jews and gentiles together into a unity that avoids the closures that have separated the two groups. It is a space that is actually lived in and shared, and the tensions between

[80] On this significance of this principle in the Corinthian context, see J. Brian Tucker, *Remain in Your Calling: Paul and the Continuation of Social Identities in 1 Corinthians* (Eugene, Ore.: Wipf & Stock, 2011).

[81] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 5. See also Patrick Schreiner, *The Body of Jesus: A Spatial Analysis of the Kingdom of Matthew* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 49.

opposing people groups are not hypothetically sorted out, but are attempted to be mutually resolved, however difficult those conflicts might prove to settle. Spirit in this sense is not necessarily understood ontologically (as in the means by which believers have their identity transformed). It is better understood in a cultic sense for the complex of relationships it brings together around the person of Christ. In this space, Jewish believers remain Jews, and gentile believers worship the one God as gentiles in their midst, bearing the burdens of the members of the new assembly in obligation to the holy commandments and in the pattern of Christ's own ministry of self-giving.

5.3. Comparisons with Stoic and Greco-Roman Conceptions of *Pneuma*

Having set forth the full argument of Paul's view of the *pneuma*, we are now in a place to offer some meaningful comparisons with Stoic and related Greco-Roman views of the *pneuma* consistent with what has been developed here. From a broad level of abstraction, Pauline and Stoic pneumatology share a significant amount of terminology and ideas. Both view *pneuma* as a unifying element and both are located within larger socio-ethical patterns of living where *koinonia* among fellow humans directs the tenor of their relations with others. However, on a closer level of examination, with attention paid to the ordering principles behind the shared terminology, these similarities prove significantly less impressive, even conflicting. Consistent with this, recent studies that have compared Paulinism with Stoicism find either remarkable parallels or incommensurable differences and do so for vastly different reasons.[82] For example, Thorsteinsson's comparison of Christian sources with those of Roman Stoicism reveal that they "are fundamentally similar in terms of morality and ethics" when

[82] On the comparison of Paul and the Stoics in particular, see the comments and the literature cited in C. Kavin Rowe, *One True Life: The Stoics and Early Christians as Rival Traditions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 175–204, who depends readily on the proposals from Alasdair MacIntyre, *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988), 370–88 (emphasizing the limits and even at times untranslatability of ideas and concepts between competing comparative schemes).

comparing the aims and shape of their moral teachings.[83] By contrast, Kavin Rowe's recent study sought to compare related themes and concepts of both traditions but on the broader frame of their practicing horizons. He concludes from this vantagepoint that there is a virtual untranslatability of even shared concepts and words between both Christians and Stoics.[84]

As we have already suggested, the most profound commonality between both systems is the unitive dimensions of *pneuma* important to both systems. Paul's *pneuma* joins believers to Christ in "one spirit" such that "they are all one in Christ" (1 Cor 6:17; Gal 3:28). For the Stoics, similarly, all that there is can be described as one because of the *pneuma* that pervades everything. Paul can speak of the "fellowship of the Holy Spirit" (2 Cor 13:13) just as Seneca can speak in terms of "natural *fellowship* of men with one another."[85] Nevertheless, searching through the essential principles of each system of belief and practice, even these common terms operate on dramatically divergent valences. The most pressing problem with any theory of mutual compatibility as it relates to *pneuma* is Paul's clear identification of a "Spirit that you have received from God" and "not a Spirit of the world" (1 Cor 2:12; also 2 Cor 11:4). The Spirit in Paul is capable of being distinguished from other spirits. In key places the identity of *pneuma* is controlled by the risen Christ himself. Furthermore, the spirit in Paul is *holy*. The concept of a "holy spirit" that demarcates its recipients as set apart from a defiling world is essentially the antithesis of Stoic physics where *pneuma* is the common element in all the cosmos.

Related to this discussion are the respective portrayals of the structuring of the cosmos. As we have seen in multiple instances, *pneuma* for the Stoics forms the structure of the universe and the structural basis for its ethical philosophy. For them, all the world is "totally pervaded by a pneuma through which the whole is held together."[86]

[83] Runar M. Thorsteinsson, *Roman Christianity and Roman Stoicism: A Comparative Study of Ancient Morality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 209; also Troels Engberg-Pedersen, *Paul and the Stoics* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2000), 45–48, 293.

[84] Rowe, *One True Life*, passim.

[85] See § 3.2.5.

[86] Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De Mixtione* 216.14–16. See also Seneca, *Nat.* 2.6.2–4; also Philo, *QG* 2.28.

Importantly, in Paul's letters, it is Christ himself and not the Spirit "through whom are all things and through whom we exist" (1 Cor 8:6). In Colossians, this idea finds significant elaboration in the expression of Christ as "firstborn of all creation" such that "all things have been created through him and for him . . . and in him all things hold together" (Col 1:18).[87] Paul here appears to follow Jewish traditions of reading Genesis 1 with Proverbs 8. Just as in these traditions Wisdom or Torah in their personified forms are described as present and active in the structure and design of creation, in Pauline and deutero-Pauline constructions, that role is filled by Christ.[88]

Finally, Stoicism is constrained by a horizon of determinism that runs conversely to Paulinism. For the Stoics, the *pneuma* signals an eventual conflagration of fire and confirms an outlook of a world heading inexorably to a recurring cycle of destruction.[89] By contrast, for Paul, the *pneuma* is a down payment for the redemption of a world presently subjected to futility and suffering (Rom 8:19–23) and destined for fundamental change. Stoic determinism leaves little space for hope toward a better world, but rather promotes the view that one does the best with what they have in the role (and world) that they find themselves within.[90] Paul's *pneuma* tugs in the opposite direction, attesting to a hope that the present world will be remade into something genuinely new and qualitatively different (2 Cor 2:14–18).

The foregoing indicates that Paul's pneumatology operates on largely incommensurable ideas, motivations, and principles compared to those that occupy the Stoic system of thinking on the *pneuma*.

[87] On the relation of ideas of Colossians 1 with Pauline the associated imagery concerning union, covenant, and temple, see Grant Macaskill, "Union(s) with Christ: Colossians 1:15–20," *Ex Auditu* 33 (2017): 92–107.

[88] See Macaskill, "Union(s) with Christ," 102–3. In rabbinic reflection, it is Torah (similar to the tradition of Wisdom) that is described as being present at God's creation and described in terms of an ordering principle of all creation (Gen. Rab. 1:1).

[89] See the discussion of *ekpyrosis* §3.2.1.

[90] On the Stoic idea that the world is determined by Fate and that each person is to follow the roles that have been ordained, see, e.g., Long and Sedley, *Hellenistic Philosophers*, 62A–B; also, p. 392 ("What early Stoicism adds [to classical notions of fate] is that fate's plan for you is thoroughly providential. This world is the best possible, and you are in it to perform a very specific role").

Stoicism involves a web of interconnected ideas working together with the philosophical traditions in which Stoic practitioners saw themselves a part of. These conversations and associated principles are found nowhere in Paul's letters. Where Stoic pneumatology features theo-cosmological principles that prioritize the unity of all things, Paul regards the *pneuma* (or the Holy Spirit) as something distinct from "the spirit of the world" and reserved for those who are "in Christ" (Rom 8:23; 11:36). The pneumatologies of Paul and of the Stoics are worlds apart.

But to establish these fundamental differences does not foreclose the possibility of Pauline interaction with Stoic concepts and their potential for further comparative study. None of these findings, for instance, denies the likelihood that Paul not only was aware of but also drew eclectically from Stoic thinking on the *pneuma*, adopting surface-level ideas of Stoic pneumatology without necessarily adopting its more systemic logic. Certainly nothing in our study denies the possibility that Paul's audience could have heard Paul's reference to a resurrection of spiritual bodies (1 Cor 15:44) and received them in terms consonant with Stoic physics and the transformation of humans into rarefied pneumatic ether. By the same token, the Stoic idea that the *pneuma* unites and joins persons together may very well have informed Paul's notion of the fellowship of the Holy Spirit. As to whether this eclectic cherry-picking of ideas accurately sums up the phenomena of Paul's *pneuma* discourse is, to my mind, impossible to verify. The distinct genius of Paul's *pneuma* was that it mediated Christ's presence with his people. With that being said, almost certainly listeners of Paul in Roman Corinth would have found some affinity with Pauline and Stoic discourse based on the catchwords of *pneuma*, oneness, and *koinonia*.

5.4. Conclusions

This chapter covered the third principal movement of our thesis, refuting the assumption that the appeal to *pneuma* and "spiritual" imagery in the context of Paul's Jew-gentile binary necessitates a nonethnic transmutation of these differences into a new spiritual entity. By contrast, Paul's idea of unity appears to assume that Jewish believers remain Jewish in their religious praxis and gentile believers remain gentiles. They are bound in common worship of the same

God, but their union retains important differences. Paul does indeed strenuously oppose any efforts to impose the Jewish law on gentile believers. But consistent with what we have seen in the Apostolic Decree in Acts, even his polemical opposition to gentile law observance can be made consistent with the continued allowance of Jewish believers to bear the burden of the Torah in accordance with the ancestral traditions. One of the key flash points where Jewish loyalty to Torah might conflict with their loyalty to the Christian family appears to relate with instances where Jewish and gentile believers are joined together in commensality contexts (e.g., Gal 2:12–14; 1 Cor 10:31–33; Rom 14:20–23; 15:7). In these instances, Paul cites the example of Christ's own self-giving, and his own example of laying down "rightful claims" afforded to him by the Torah for the sake of the gospel of Christ (1 Cor 9:12). Consonant with this example, he encourages differing members to engage in a mutual bearing of burdens so that a supervening loyalty is owed to Christ and is resolved in deference to others within the fellowship of believers. Paul summarizes this principle throughout his letters as a manner of "walking in love" (Rom 14:15; 1 Cor 8:1; 16:14; Gal 5:13) in service to others in the believing community.

Instead of creating a newly transformed racial ethnicity for Christians that transcends their former Jewishness or non-Jewishness, Paul's inventive Spirit discourse in the Corinthian correspondence hoped to establish a new and shared reconstruction of sacred space, a space that Jews and gentiles inhabit together and that Paul portrays in terms of "God's building" built on the foundation of Christ, or elsewhere simply "in Christ." The leading prescriptive exhortations toward these goals are then to "build up" this body-temple in relational terms consistent with mutual support and love, and to do so in accommodation of their differences, rather than in elimination of them. In such an arrangement, the references to those "under the Law" and those "outside the Law" (1 Cor 9:20–23) seem to assume a real-world diversity in early Christian communities and the ongoing continuity of practicing Jews as well as gentiles, who together, in their own way, continue in "obeying the commandments of God" (1 Cor 7:19).

6
One Spirit in Pauline Studies

Were Paul truly intent on transcending the difference between Jews and Gentiles, would he have so stressed the man known as the father of the Jewish people?[1]

6.1. Introduction

This final substantive chapter will test this constructive thesis against three major paradigms in Pauline scholarship. Our principal focus here will be trained on the final element of our thesis, that Paul's imagery of the "temple of the Holy Spirit" does not spell a rejection of ethnic Israel, nor even a finding that the temple and its covenant practices are now obsolete for Jewish Christians. In this chapter, interaction with the secondary scholarship will not proceed like a literature review but will insert its own arguments alongside these approaches—analyzing and exegeting the principal texts as we proceed. Furthermore, this section has no interest in relitigating in any detail much of the broader controversies within Pauline scholarship, such as justification by faith or the meaning of such key terms as righteousness, works of the law, and so forth. Rather, we will continue

[1] Jon D. Levenson, *Inheriting Abraham: The Legacy of the Patriarch in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 157.

our approach principally from the angle of how *Spirit* is used in supporting these respective positions in potentially problematic or unreflective ways.

6.2. The New Perspective on Paul, Spiritual Fulfillment, and Supersessionism

The *new perspective on Paul* no longer needs an introduction.[2] The work of E. P. Sanders has been credited with bringing about a "paradigm shift"[3] in Pauline studies in correcting an outmoded mischaracterization of Second Temple Judaism as a legalistic religion and hence Paul's own response to Judaism in his writings. This study affirms some of the basic premises of the new perspective, namely that Paul's missional theology was directed at the gentile mission, which sought to establish churches that overcame social and ethnic tensions in the Messiah. Some of the more fundamental problems of the new perspective are now well reported.[4]

In this section we will canvas how two of its leading proponents (James Dunn and N. T. Wright) understand Israel's relation to the new churches in Christ and track how *pneuma* is used in the new kind of unity Paul sought to bring between Jews and gentiles. Wright finds that the "problem" of Israel and [her] regard for the law is that "she is guilty not of 'legalism' or 'works-righteousness' but of what I call 'national righteousness,' the belief that fleshly Jewish descent

[2] If necessary, the best sources remain the original articulations of its chief proponents. E.g., E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 431–555; James D. G. Dunn, "The New Perspective on Paul" (1983), in *The New Perspective on Paul* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 99–120; see also Stephen Westerholm, "Justification by Faith Is the Answer: What Is the Question?" *CTQ* 70 (2006): 197–218.

[3] See the helpful discussion by Jonathan A. Linebaugh, *God, Grace, and Righteousness in Wisdom of Solomon and Paul's Letter to the Romans: Texts in Conversation* (Boston: Brill, 2013), 2–13; esp. p. 4, where Linebaugh questions the extent to which Sanders' achievement is a true "paradigm shift" in the Kuhnian sense.

[4] On the deficits of "covenantal nomism" as articulated by Sanders, see in particular John M. G. Barclay, *Paul and the Gift* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 151–59, 562–74. On the deficits of the new perspective understanding of the "righteousness of God" as a consistent attribute of "covenant faithfulness" to the exclusion of a distributive or communicative sense, see Charles Lee Irons, *The Righteousness of God: A Lexical Examination of the Covenant-Faithfulness Interpretation* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015).

guarantees membership of God's true covenant people."[5] This has been characterized by Dunn as the "xenophobic strand of Judaism,"[6] or "ethnocentrism,"[7] or more broadly the failure to grasp God's ethnically inclusive vision of God's blessing to the nations. In correcting Paul's relationship with Judaism, the new perspective rescued Judaism from a long-held negative portrayal as a religion of self-righteous boasting, but in recasting Judaism in terms of xenophobic exclusivity, it nevertheless retained its role as a foil to Pauline Christianity.

6.2.1. Dunn and the Tension between Two Israels

Dunn presents a cogent reading of Romans 9–11, one that many Pauline interpreters share (at least in its overall shape).[8] As a baseline, Dunn makes clear that God's future for Israel is not a redefined Israel, but actual historical Israel, to which Paul himself belongs as a member of the tribe of Benjamin.[9] Dunn casts Paul's view of Israel in a framework of "eschatological tension" which divides Israel in two: one Israel that is outside of God's blessing due to unbelief and the other Israel who is already a part of this covenant community. As for the final denouement of Romans 11:26 and the salvation of "all Israel," Dunn concludes "there can be little doubt by 'Israel' here Paul means the historic people of that name" (527). Dunn notes, however, that this eschatological hope "focuses on the coming of 'the redeemer from Zion' (11.26), on the coming of the Messiah, *and not on the Torah*."[10] It is in this ending that the divisive tension of the two Israels is finally resolved and transcended.

[5] N. T. Wright, "The Paul of History and the Apostle of Faith," *TynBul* 29 (1978): 65, also 67.

[6] James D. G. Dunn, "Paul: Apostate or Apostle of Israel?" *ZNW* 89 (1998): 261.

[7] A. Andrew Das, "Paul and Works of Obedience in Second Temple Judaism: Romans 4:4–5 as a 'New Perspective' Case Study," *CBQ* 71, no. 4 (2009): 804.

[8] See the categorization of the various views in Christopher Zoccali, "'And So All Israel Will Be Saved': Competing Interpretations of Romans 11.26 in Pauline Scholarship," *JSNT* 30, no. 3 (2008): 289–318.

[9] James D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 519–20 ("The continuity of Israel, of God's people is unbroken. The Israel of God's call is still the Israel God called").

[10] Dunn, *Theology*, 528 (emphasis added).

Dunn's reading of Romans 9–11 stands in line with many readings that regard Paul as reserving a future hope for some large-scale conversion to Israel's Messiah upon the return of Christ.[11] Notably, Paula Fredriksen's recent volume on Paul, with some significant differences, shares the larger horizon of this view concerning Paul's vision of the end of history: "Israel would so turn—that is, they would recognize Jesus as the son of David, the eschatological Lord Messiah—only when God enabled them."[12] She would, among other things, correct any characterization that this would be a "conversion" to another religious identity. The Jewish practice, in Paul's view, would undoubtedly change in that they would add gentiles to their collective covenant constitution, but their ancestral traditions would not change simply by virtue of the arrival of the Messiah.[13]

Dunn's reading, while largely persuasive, makes several unwarranted claims about the Jewish law.[14] Under his scheme, the law (which Paul declares holy and good [Rom 7:12]) is virtually evacuated from the picture. The only "law" that pertains now is the law as redefined by Christ: "The law of faith; the law of the Spirit; and the law of Christ."[15] Importantly, Dunn lays great store in the Spirit for this wholesale change. Dunn recognizes, quite rightly, that Paul uses the language of "walking by the Spirit" to name the Christian pattern of life, which connects with the characteristically Jewish idea of *halakhah*. He then proceeds to argue that in setting *spirit* against the *gramma* (Rom 2:28–29; 2 Cor 3:3, 6), there has been a "fulfillment" of the law by the arrival of the Spirit.[16] Dunn is also correct

[11] For a compiled list of some of the scholars who line up under this view, see Zoccali, "'And So All Israel Will Be Saved,'" 290 (classified as the "eschatological miracle"); also most recently, Matthew Thiessen, *A Jewish Paul: The Messiah's Herald to the Gentiles* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2023), 171–79.

[12] Paula Fredriksen, *Paul: The Pagans' Apostle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 166.

[13] Fredriksen, *Paul*, 167; also Brent Nongbri, "The Concept of Religion and the Study of the Apostle Paul," *JJMJS*, no. 2 (2015): 14n47.

[14] For a similar objection along different lines, see Terence L. Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles: Remapping the Apostle's Convictional World* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997), 341.

[15] Dunn, *Theology*, 634.

[16] Dunn, *Theology*, 644–45 (describing this fulfillment in terms of the new covenant promises in Jer 31:33 and Ezek 36:27, but understanding these

to observe that the language of "spirit" and "fulfilling the law" in Romans 8:4 is closely related with the promise of the new covenant (Jer 31:33; Ezek 36:27).[17] But Dunn's language of "fulfillment" as a "summary way of speaking of the requirement of the law fulfilled by those who walk by the Spirit" proves too much.[18] Dunn reserves a paraenetic function for the Mosaic law since "nothing that Paul says indicates that for him Christ had brought emancipation from the law as God's rule of right and wrong, as God's guidelines for conduct."[19] But why stop here? Nothing Paul says also indicates that Christ has nullified the law as a gracious gift to Israel, to instruct, counsel, and guide their steps. Presumably, Dunn reasons that to do so would revert back to the "xenophobic strand" of Judaism and controvert God's program of inclusion. But this assumes that an agreement akin to an Apostolic Decree (Acts 15) would have likewise destroyed unity between Jew and gentiles in Christ; but precisely the converse is true in the Acts narrative.

6.2.2. Wright: One Israel and One People of God

Whereas Dunn parses out two kinds of "Israel" in Romans 9–11, Wright insists on pressing all the references to Israel and "all Israel" into only one group: the church of God.[20] This is argued despite the references to Israel as "kinsmen according to the flesh" (Rom 9:3), to the descendants of Abraham, and to himself from "the tribe of

promises not only to provide a power to obey the law in an unprecedented manner, but to free it from the impermissible boasting and separation from others it can easily create).

[17] Dunn, *Theology*, 644–45.

[18] Dunn, *Theology*, 646–47. On "fulfillment" of the law, see also John M. G. Barclay, *Obeying the Truth: Paul's Ethics in Galatians* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 135–42; Thomas R. Schreiner, *Law and Its Fulfillment* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1998), 145–78.

[19] Dunn, *Theology*, 645.

[20] N. T. Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2013), 1144. Wright's supersessionism has been criticized by a number of scholars. The most strident of these has recently come from Joel Kaminsky and Mark Reasoner, "The Meaning and Telos of Israel's Election: An Interfaith Response to N. T. Wright's Reading of Paul," *HTR*, no. 4 (2019): 444 (finding in Wright "a de facto supersessionist position of the type that should give serious pause to any reader of Paul [whether Christian, Jewish, or secular] living in the post-Shoah world").

Benjamin" (Rom 11:1), which together indicate the historical people of Israel. Wright denies these as bearing any indication of ethnic Israel because of Paul's dictum, "not all who are from Israel *is* Israel" (9:6). So says Wright, "that distinction hangs over the rest of the discussion like a puzzling question mark: who then are 'Israel,' if not all Abraham's physical children are to qualify?"[21] The answer, for Wright, depends in part on Paul's language of *fullness* (11:12). Quoting Sanders, Wright finds that God's saving plan is that "the full number of both Jews and Gentiles will be saved, and saved on the same basis."[22] Rather than a "large-scale last-minute conversion of all Jews," Wright understands Paul as retaining only "the *saveability* of Jews within the continuing purposes of God."[23] Since some of the Jewish people will be saved, so the argument goes, the full number will be saved; and since this means that God is faithful to his promise to save all the world through Abraham's seed (the Messiah), in this sense, "all Israel" is saved.[24]

A number of scholars have already addressed the problems of Wright's exegetical decisions with respect to Romans 9–11.[25] More important for our purposes is Wright's understanding of "fulfillment" and the Spirit in his overall scheme. For Wright, both Israel's covenantal identity and the Jewish practices concerning temple and Torah can no longer serve as a witness to God's character and grace. For him, these symbols are "revised" and redefined around the Spirit and the Messiah. The "new family" of the Messiah people now take their place as the "sole . . . visible symbol of the new worldview."[26] What

[21] Wright, *PFG*, 1241.

[22] Wright, *PFG*, 1245 (quoting E. P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985], 196) ("[T]he mission to the Gentiles will indirectly lead to the salvation of 'all Israel' [that is, 'their fullness']").

[23] Wright, *PFG*, 1251 (emphasis added).

[24] See, e.g., Wright, *PFG*, 1412. Importantly, this larger argument fails to grapple with Paul's genuine anguish over Israel in Rom 9:2–3.

[25] Among the more important critiques, see Jonathan A. Linebaugh, "Not the End: The History and Hope of the Unfailing Word in Romans 9–11," in *God and Israel: Providence and Purpose in Romans 9–11*, ed. Todd D. Still (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2017), 141–64; also John K. Goodrich, "Until the Fullness of the Gentiles Comes In: A Critical Review of Recent Scholarship on the Salvation of 'All Israel' (Romans 11:26)," *JSPL* 6, no. 1 (2016): 5–32; and Kaminsky and Reasoner, "Meaning and Telos."

[26] Wright, *PFG*, 368.

is important for Wright is the function of the old symbols (which for Wright presumably includes ancient Israel herself):

> Paul's point was not that there was anything wrong with the original promise or symbol. Far from it. When you have arrived at your destination, you switch off the engine and park the car, not because it has not done its proper job but because it has. It is eschatology, not religious superiority that forms the key to Paul the apostle's radical revision of the symbolic world of Saul of Tarsus.[27]

Israel and its symbols of Torah and temple are regarded for their *function* (having "done its proper job"). Wright insists that all this is "deeply Jewish." He writes that Paul has, "in the Messiah, . . . discovered a new way, or perhaps we should say *the* new way, to be Jewish. This, he would certainly have said, is what it means to be 'Jewish' in the 'age to come,' which is already present."[28]

Under this scheme of "fulfillment" and redefinition, Wright avers that with the Spirit there is a "new form of Torah-observance" which the Deuteronomic motif of covenant renewal and circumcision of the heart had "been pointing to all along."[29] Pressed with the accusation that this amounts to "an erasure of something called Jewish identity," Wright responds "this would have made no sense to Paul" (offering supporting examples of a bride wishing to stay engaged, or someone preferring candles to the daytime sun).[30]

[27] Wright, *PFG*, 367. This analogy of the car having done its job speaks to Wright's functional ontology, which is a feature of his wider writings. Grindheim's critique of Wright's Rom 9–11 scheme concerns the fact that in emphasizing Israel's vocation (and God's eventual fulfillment of that intended plan to save the world), he fails to recognize the unconditioned nature of God's saving election: "God did not choose his bride to save the world, but to love her." Sigurd Grindheim, "Election and the Role of Israel," in *God and the Faithfulness of Paul: A Critical Examination of the Pauline Theology of N. T. Wright*, ed. Michael F. Bird, Christoph Heilig, and J. Thomas Hewitt (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 344. Wright appears to see no other way to understand ethnic Israel outside of its vocation as a light to the gentiles. E.g., *PFG*, 810–11. For Wright, historical Israel *is* only what historical Israel *does* for the world.

[28] Wright, *PFG*, 545.

[29] Wright, *PFG*, 1433.

[30] Wright, *PFG*, 1433.

As was the case with Dunn (though to a higher degree), "fulfillment" is understood to fully redefine without remainder the whole matter of the temple, its sacred apparatus, the ancestral traditions, the holy feasts, and even the identity of Israel as the people of God. Crucially, the "Spirit" is named as that which redraws all these around the Messiah and thus brings about "the new way to be Jewish." But there is very little in either Dunn or Wright that discusses what *fulfillment* actually means with respect to the law and why any of the references to πλήροω and its cognates indicate that Jewish believers are to fully give up the ancestral traditions and customs. The law-fulfillment passages are not as numerous as one might expect, spanning only Romans and Galatians: Romans 8:4; 13:8, 10; Galatians 6:2. Three of the four references speak of "fulfilling" the law by virtue of the love command (or bearing one's burdens). Romans 8:4 provides the only reference to the Spirit and a form of "walking according to the Spirit" in the context of the "righteous requirement of the law . . . fulfilled in [them]." But this verse alone cannot support their arguments that Jewish adherence to Torah is now wholly done away with.

6.3. Paul within Judaism and the Ethnic *Pneuma*

As is the case with the new perspective, scholars subscribing to the "Paul-within-Judaism" view operate within a significant margin of diversity.[31] What unites them broadly is the shared conviction that Paul's calling as apostle to the gentiles did not represent any meaningful break from Judaism, but rather operated within and for the sake of the Judaism from which it emerged.[32] In this regard, Paul

[31] For an overview of the main distinctives of this perspective and an acknowledgment of its diversity, see Mark D. Nanos and Magnus Zetterholm, eds., *Paul within Judaism: Restoring the First-Century Context to the Apostle* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2015), 1, 6. See also Michael Bird, Ruben A. Bühner, Jörg Frey, and Brian Rosner, eds., *Paul within Judaism: Perspectives on Paul and Jewish Identity* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2023).

[32] The term "Judaism" (or *Ioudaismos*) is fraught in the secondary literature, as is untangling the proper valency for the term "Jew/Judean" (*Ioudaioi*). In certain contexts, the term is handled quite imprecisely as signifying an identifiable religion over against the nascent Christian religion. The better handling of these terms in their historical Second Temple contexts recognizes that *Ioudaismos* lacks a distinctly religious component separable from aspects of ethnicity (ancestry and custom) and location (territory and region). Such distinct religious understandings of the term

was not a "convert" who "invented Christian theology,"[33] "planting ('Christian') 'churches' that were unaffiliated with, and even in open conflict with Jewish synagogues."[34] Important to many proponents of this view is the idea that Paul wrote exclusively to gentile *ekklesiai*, and accordingly, his letters speak to concerns only of gentile believers in Christ.[35] Beyond this, the various positions begin to diversify. On the *Sonderweg* side of the spectrum (following the findings of Lloyd Gaston and John Gager), Paul's labor for the gospel was only for gentiles alone and hence the call for faith in Jesus the Messiah has no bearing upon the Jewish people, who already belong as covenant members, children of Abraham.[36] In the other direction, moving away from a two-covenant scheme, are scholars who recognize Paul as leaving space for a future realization of Israel's belief in Jesus as Messiah but permit some interregnum of faithful Jewish praxis.[37] In between these poles, most of the notable scholars writing within

over against Christianity are likely much later developments; so Daniel Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 11. See Shaye J. D. Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); and Steve Mason, "Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History," *JSJ* 38 (2007): 457–512.

[33] Paula Fredriksen, "Review: Paul and the Faithfulness of God," *CBQ* 77, no. 2 (2015): 387.

[34] Nanos and Zetterholm, *Paul within Judaism*, 5.

[35] E.g., Matthew Thiessen, *Paul and the Gentile Problem* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 11 ("These claims to have divine authority to preach to gentiles suggest that he wrote primarily, perhaps even exclusively, for gentiles-in-Christ. Therefore, when Paul quotes Jewish scriptures or comments on the Jewish law, he does so in relation to his mission to non-Jews"). See also the elaboration of these ideas in Rafael Rodriguez and Matthew Thiessen, *The So-Called Jew in Paul's Letter to the Romans* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2016).

[36] E.g., Lloyd Gaston, *Paul and the Torah* (1987; repr., Eugene, Ore.: Wipf & Stock, 2006); John G. Gager, *Reinventing Paul* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[37] Fredriksen, *Paul*, 165–66 (finding that despite misunderstanding the Law's purpose as it pertains to Christ, Israel "would indeed recognize Jesus as the son of David, the eschatological Lord Messiah—only when God enabled them" after the fullness of the nations [Rom 11.25]). See also Kathy Ehrensperger, *Paul at the Crossroads of Cultures* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 2–8 (highlighting Paul's efforts with Jerusalem as signaling a concerted effort to keep his mission firmly tethered to Jerusalem and its temple).

this view characterize Paul's ministry as orchestrating a solution for gentiles in particular, while not encompassing in his extant writings a worldwide justifying solution for all humanity.[38]

What all Paul-within-Judaism scholars share is their critique of the new perspective.[39] While they affirm with the new perspective that Judaism is as much a religion of grace as the early Jesus movement, they criticize it for retaining a form of Christian "universalism," which negatively portrays Judaism as marked by "nationalism," "exclusivism," and hence "narrowness," which only finds its spiritualized, universalizing liberation in the gospel of Christian grace.[40] In forwarding this critique, one of the key distinctives of this scholarship is a move toward elucidating ethnicity as a means by which Paul establishes his *ekklesiai* and constructs their distinctive identity in Christ.[41] Rather

[38] E.g., Caroline E. Johnson Hodge, *If Sons, Then Heirs: A Study of Kinship and Ethnicity in the Letters of Paul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 149–51.

[39] This is evident by the prefatory material in Nanos and Zetterholm, *Paul within Judaism*.

[40] E.g., Hodge, *If Sons*, 7–9; also Denise Kimber Buell and Caroline Johnson Hodge, "The Politics of Interpretation: The Rhetoric of Race and Ethnicity in Paul," *JBL* 123 (2004): 235–51.

[41] The work of Buell and Hodge is representative of this approach among others. On the relation between Paul within Judaism, identity theory, and ethnicity, see in particular Kathy Ehrensperger, "Narratives of Belonging: The Role of Paul's Genealogical Reasoning," *Early Christianity* 8, no. 3 (2017): 373–92; Paula Fredriksen, "How Jewish Is God? Divine Ethnicity in Paul's Theology," *JBL* 137, no. 1 (2018): 193–212; J. Brian Tucker, *Remain in Your Calling: Paul and the Continuation of Social Identities in 1 Corinthians* (Eugene, Ore.: Wipf & Stock, 2011); also J. Brian Tucker, "Did Paul Create Christian Identity?" *Criswell Theological Review* 8, no. 1 (2010): 35–51. On the contested nature of "identity" in biblical studies, cf. Judith Lieu, *Christian Identity in the Jewish and Graeco-Roman World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) (resisting any broad sense of a shared Christian identity among the earliest Jesus followers beyond what can be established from their texts) with Bengt Holmberg, "Understanding the First Hundred Years of Christian Identity," in *Exploring Early Christian Identity*, ed. Bengt Holmberg (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008) (retrieving the use of identity from a particular historical pessimism as a valid category for describing the practices and beliefs of the first "Christians"). On ethnicity and identity in biblical studies more broadly, see now Katherine M. Hockey and

than transcend or relativize ethnic difference, it is urged instead that Paul's ministry strategy embraces ethnic identity and draws upon it among other forms of social patterns to construct collective identities of the churches as a coordinated people alongside Israel.[42] From this approach, even those areas which have been traditionally analyzed in Pauline studies as theological categories, both *pneuma* and *theos*, are now analyzed more directly in terms of ethnicity and identity as well.[43]

Perhaps the most salient contribution of this group of scholarship is its insistence that Paul's eschatological vision was explicitly in line with the prophetic texts that viewed the *ethnē* to join God's people in Jerusalem precisely as *ethnē* (cf. Isa 2:2–3; 25:6; 60:6–9; Zech 8:21–23). In this view, the "inclusion" of gentiles is consistently understood as taking for granted the perdurance of Israel as such. This idea finds strong support in Jewish apocalyptic literature.[44] Fredriksen rightly insists that for the Isaianic vision to be realized in Paul's gentile mission, "not only must eschatological gentiles remain

David G. Horrell, eds., *Ethnicity, Race, Religion: Identities and Ideologies in Early Jewish and Christian Texts, and in Modern Biblical Interpretation* (New York: T&T Clark, 2018); and most recently David G. Horrell, *Ethnicity and Inclusion: Religion, Race, and Whiteness in Constructions of Jewish and Christian Identities* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2020).

[42] E.g., Hodge, *If Sons*, 4–5 and 134.

[43] E.g., Hodge, *If Sons*, 132 ("'In Christ' is an ethnic designation"). The ethnic relation of deities with their worshipping communities (the idea that "the gods run in the blood" in antiquity) has been a feature of Fredriksen's writings on Paul and has been developed in her recent *When Christians Were Jews: The First Generation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018); also Fredriksen, "How Jewish Is God?"

[44] Kathy Ehrensperger, "The Pauline Ἐκκλησίαι and Images of Community in Enoch Traditions," in *Paul the Jew: Rereading the Apostle as a Figure of Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Carlos A. Segovia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2016), 183–218; also Matthew Thiessen, "Paul, the Animal Apocalypse, and Abraham's Gentile Seed," in *The Ways That Often Parted: Essays in Honor of Joel Marcus*, ed. Lori Baron, Jill Hicks-Keeton, and Matthew Thiessen (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2018), 68–69.

gentiles: so too Israel must remain Israel, that family group, God's 'sons' and Paul's blood brothers, united by the covenants, the law, the temple cult, the promises, the patriarchs."[45]

6.3.1. The Spirit of the Gentiles in Paul within Judaism (Hodge and Thiessen)

Looking more closely at the particular pneumatology within this group of scholarship, the works of Caroline Johnson Hodge and Matthew Thiessen represent the most prominent contributions to date.[46] Hodge's project, preceding Thiessen, and following the theoretical groundwork laid out by Denise Kimber Buell, leans on both the fixity and fluidity of ethnic identity as an avenue for deeper appreciation of Paul's kinship language and his language concerning *pneuma*. More than simply fixed anchors of identity, kinship and ethnicity are understood across time and culture as reference points that can be adapted, "nested," and negotiated in order to form adaptive and malleable identities both socially and personally.[47] In the ancient world, as today, people are capable of "situational ethnicity" and "double discursive competence" to shift from multiple identities and

[45] Fredriksen, *Paul*, 165.

[46] To these scholars, we should also add the contributions concerning πνεῦμα from Stanley K. Stowers, "What Is 'Pauline Participation in Christ'?" in *Redefining First-Century Jewish and Christian Identities: Essays in Honor of Ed Parish Sanders*, ed. Fabian E. Udoh, Susannah Heschel, Mark Chancey, and Gregory Tatum (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008), 352–71; and Kathy Ehrensperger, "Between Polis, Oikos, and Ekklesia: The Challenge of Negotiating the Spirit World (1 Cor 12:1–11)," in *The First Urban Churches 2: Roman Corinth*, ed. James R. Harrison and L. L. Welborn (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2016), 105–32. The studies from Hodge and Thiessen are not representative of the entire Paul-within-Judaism paradigm, but they are the most fully articulated pneumatological studies from within this perspective.

[47] Hodge, *If Sons*, 119. On the usefulness of ethnicity as a category that acquires purchase on Pauline interpretation, see Simon Butticaz, "Vers une Anthropologie universelle? La crise galate: Fragile gestion de l'ethnicité Juive," *NTS* 61 (2015): 505–24 (contending that the category of "ethnicity" does not track Paul's own discourse in Galatians, who himself searches for categories beyond ethnicity in terms of "new creation"); for similar criticism of the "slipperiness" of ethnic discourse in this context, see John M. G. Barclay, "An Identity Received from God: The Theological Configuration of Paul's Kinship Discourse," *Early Christianity* 8, no. 3 (2017): 354–72.

negotiate various essentializing claims.[48] Hodge portrays Paul as an "entrepreneur of identity"[49] that seeks to accommodate gentile inclusion into God's Abrahamic family, using the discourse of ethnicity as pedagogical strategy in furtherance of his theological aims. Hodge emphasizes the manner in which the status of kinship and ethnicity in the ancient world could be established either by blood ties (or at least by religious or ceremonial sanction, such as adoption) or by imagined shared practice (a distinction ethnographers speak in terms of monothetic and polythetic constructions of ethnicity).[50] For these reasons, Paul can use ideas like ethnicity and kinship "for drawing and redrawing boundaries between people."[51]

To this end, Hodge sets out to defend her primary thesis that for Paul, kinship and ethnicity are not mere metaphors for lineage, family, and paternity but are "salient categories" for joining gentiles to Israel's God.[52] For Hodge, both the problem and the solution are described primarily in ethnic terms: "If oppositional ethnic construction (Jews/non-Jews) defines the problem, aggregative ethnic construction (gentiles-in-Christ linked to Israel) defines the solution."[53] In other words, the solution to the problem is "kinship creation," for which adoption and baptism serve as prime metaphors to broker this new kind of kinship and so bridge the ethnic gap between Jew and gentiles.

[48] See Irad Malkin, ed., *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2001); for a fine discussion of ethnic malleability and identity discourse in the study of Paul specifically, see Cavan W. Concannon, *"When You Were Gentiles": Specters of Ethnicity in Roman Corinth and Paul's Corinthian Correspondence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014); on ethnicity more broadly, see John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, eds., *Ethnicity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

[49] Hodge borrows this phrase from Philip Esler's work on identity. Philip Francis Esler, *Conflict and Identity in Romans: The Social Setting of Paul's Letter* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 38.

[50] E.g., Jonathan Z. Smith, *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 1–18. Categories of "Greekness" and being a "barbarian" could be established by appeals to behavior (over genealogical descent). Hodge, *If Sons*, 34–35.

[51] Hodge, *If Sons*, 48.

[52] Hodge, *If Sons*, 4.

[53] Hodge, *If Sons*, 67.

Consequently, for Hodge, *pneuma* functions in the primary role of achieving this negotiated ethnic identity—it is the very means by which gentiles through adoption and baptism are legitimated as sons of Abraham on a parallel standing with ethnic Israel. The *pneuma* "is crucial to the process," says Hodge, as "it grants the gentiles a new ancestry, a new kinship with the God of Israel."[54] This solution for Paul relies on the "logic of shared blood" as a means to creatively link gentiles into Abraham's lineage "through the spirit."[55] The "spirit provides divine legitimation," which as "the divine (and also 'physical') agent links the gentiles to Christ."[56] The language of kinship is in this regard hardly "fictive" in the sense that it implies something "less real, less 'natural' than other kinds of kinship" because with *pneuma*, Paul is accomplishing rhetorical work that takes seriously the manner in which society can construct kinship in powerful, and therefore very real, ways.[57]

Hodge relies on ethnic categories to recharacterize central Pauline motifs. Faith (*pistis*), she argues, "is about ancestry,"[58] leaning on the prepositional phrase ἐκ πιστοῦ (Gal 3:7) as signaling that gentiles descend from Abraham "from faith." Even Paul's "in Christ" terminology is deemed an "ethnic designation" in Hodge's understanding—union with Christ empowers a kind of obedience to the law that is consistent with Jewish ethnicity, not transcendent of it.[59] Instead of any kind of transcendent group, Hodge portrays a Pauline solution whereby "Christ-following gentiles are affiliated with Israel—sharing some characteristics but retaining a necessary separateness—in an arrangement that needs to last only until Christ's return" whereby Jews and gentiles are understood in the interim to share "the same founding ancestor and belong[] to the same God, but not collapsed into one group."[60]

[54] Hodge, *If Sons*, 72.

[55] Hodge, *If Sons*, 26.

[56] Hodge, *If Sons*, 27, 76. As will be argued, it is unclear what "kinship to God" actually accomplishes in this framework, since the principal problem has already been framed in terms of Abrahamic kinship.

[57] Hodge, *If Sons*, 15–16.

[58] Hodge, *If Sons*, 84.

[59] See in particular Hodge, *If Sons*, 132–33.

[60] Hodge, *If Sons*, 117; also 77.

Matthew Thiessen's recent work builds upon Hodge while at the same time elaborating significantly on the historical background informing Paul's view of the *pneuma*. Consistent with his predecessors, Thiessen frames the "gentile problem" primarily as a matter of genealogy. Arguing chiefly from the evidence of Galatians, Thiessen's principal argument is that Paul understood God's promise of blessing to Abraham as a promise of the *pneuma* to both Abraham and *his seed*.[61] Tracing the logic of Galatians 3–4, if only sons of Abraham are entitled to receive the inherited blessing, there emerges a "genealogical divide" between Jew and gentile, such that the "only solution to the gentile problem" was for God himself to overcome this gap "by rewriting gentile genealogy so that they could become Abrahamic seed."[62] Stated another way, "if gentiles want to receive the promises and inheritance of Abraham, then they need to become genealogically related to him. They need to become his sons."[63] The innovative solution for Paul is the spirit—the "*pneuma* of Christ." Gentiles-in-Christ "remain flesh-and-blood gentiles," and any attempt to become the "seed of Abraham" by means of Jewish law, in Thiessen's view, "would be on par with undergoing cosmetic surgery, creating the appearance of kinship, without effecting any genealogical change."[64] The crucial identity change, for Thiessen, comes from *pneuma*: "Gentiles who have received this *pneuma* become both Abraham's son and his seed. They are truly descended from Abraham himself now—not sarkically, but pneumatically."[65]

Thiessen takes for granted that Paul follows Stoic thinking about *pneuma* in emphasizing a material, and a predominantly genealogical view of the *pneuma* which Paul and his readers would take up in thinking through their new identity as gentiles-in-Christ. So Thiessen: "Aided by the fundamental tenets of Stoic physics, Paul connects gentiles to Abraham through the *pneuma* of Abraham's seed, Christ."[66]

[61] Thiessen, *Gentile Problem*, 159–60.
[62] Thiessen, *Gentile Problem*, 152.
[63] Thiessen, *Gentile Problem*, 128.
[64] Thiessen, *Gentile Problem*, 121.
[65] Thiessen, *Gentile Problem*, 128.
[66] Thiessen, *Gentile Problem*, 118. On the connection of πνεῦμα and sperm in Greco-Roman antiquity and its possible inroads to Pauline pneumatology, see Jeremy W. Barrier, "Jesus' Breath: A Physiological Analysis of Πνεῦμα within

Stoic thinking, according to this thesis, informs a "popular ontology in the ancient world" in which the *pneuma* pervades the cosmos and binds it together "toward the interconnectedness (or 'sympathy,' συμπάθεια) of the entire universe."[67] Thiessen adopts the thesis that Paul's portrayal of the *pneuma* "coincide[s] quite closely with Stoic conceptions of both *pneuma* and *krasis*" whereby gentile believers are joined to Christ by the substance mixture of receiving the "*pneuma* of Christ."[68] Thiessen grants that Paul's view of the *pneuma* was "indebted to Jewish scriptures," but insists that Paul and his contemporaries nonetheless would have received and interpreted these scriptural principles through Stoic ways of understanding the cosmos.[69]

The last and most inventive move of Thiessen's overall thesis concerns his claim that Paul's use of the motif that Abraham's descendants would be "like the stars" (i.e., Gen 15:5 and 22:17) would have registered as a reference to the pneumatic, astral-like quality of angelic or divine beings for Paul and his hearers (both Jewish and gentile). Drawing from Neoplatonic and predominantly Stoic physics, Thiessen canvasses a long history of attributing the stars to divine or semidivine beings which are infused with *pneuma*.[70] In assuming that Paul and his interlocutors would receive the Abrahamic story of his descendants as stars not only in terms of numerosity, but also in terms of a quality—an astral-pneumatic, and hence divine

Paul's Letter to the Galatians," *JSNT* 37, no. 2 (2014): 115–38. See also the discussion of *pneuma* and genealogy in § 6.3.3.

[67] Thiessen, *Gentile Problem*, 116.

[68] Thiessen, *Gentile Problem*, 111–18. See § 3.2.3.

[69] Thiessen, *Gentile Problem*, 114 (citing for support the claim from N. T. Wright that Paul supposed his hearers would receive Paul's message of the *pneuma* and the re-creation of the cosmos "in the region of the Stoic development of Plato's thought"). See Wright, *PFG*, 232.

[70] See Thiessen, *Gentile Problem*, 143–60. The majority of the evidence supporting this comes from Greek philosophers ranging from Plato and Aristotle to Stoic writings from Posidinus, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus, among others. Cf. Alan Scott, *Origen and the Life of the Stars: A History of an Idea* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) ("Aside from the Epicureans, all the major philosophical schools in the Hellenistic era believed in the divinity of the stars"). On the Jewish side, the evidence is less convincing, relying primarily on the semantic associations of angelic beings with *pneuma* (e.g., Jub. 2.2; 15.31; 1 En. 15.4–6; 1QM 13.10–12).

transformation—Thiessen attempts to track Paul's efforts to reframe the horizon of gentile identity away from immoral, godless idol-worshippers toward a real transformation of virtue and even celestial, pneumatic life enabled by the *pneuma* of Christ.[71] From this perspective, passages such as 1 Corinthians 15 (and likewise Philippians 2:15 with its reference to believers "shining as stars") are properly understood as portraying a material, pneumatic transformation that moves from an earthly body (σῶμα ψυχικόν, 1 Cor 15:44) to a spiritual body (σῶμα πνευματικόν, 1 Cor 15:44, 46). This line of argument gestures toward deification or *theosis* in Paul's soteriology so that gentiles-in-Christ, though once outside of the blessing to Abraham, are now brought in as the "seed" insofar as they have received the promise of becoming like the stars and sharing in indestructible, divine life.[72]

6.3.2. Does the *Pneuma* Have an Ethnicity?

Taken together, these studies have provided significant counterweight to a reading of Paul that has too long assumed that the creation of Christian communities in the Spirit signals the end of Jewish (and gentile) obedience to the law. As we have already seen from the previous chapters, this study stands in large agreement with many points made from this school of thought. With this group of scholars, I agree that Paul conceived of a coordinated, yet distinct unity of gentiles and Israel together that did not collapse into one group. Furthermore, Paul expected this unity to remain until a final eschatological reality

[71] Of the problems on the merits that can be identified regarding Thiessen's "star theory" of *pneuma*, the primary concern is that it assumes Paul placed significant store in the implied promise that the sons of Abraham would be physically like the stars. Not only does this argument assume Paul alludes to this aspect of the promise in his writings (he does not), but it also assumes that Paul interprets the star language to appeal to the qualitative and material aspect of stars, rather than simply their numerosity. Since the original promise in Gen 17 and 22 combines the innumerable quantity of the stars with the similar numerosity of the grains of sand, Thiessen's arguments fail to persuade particularly at the textual level. Furthermore, he acknowledges that "rabbinic literature contains no evidence that later rabbis read Gen 15:5 or 22:16–18 to imply a qualitative comparison" (139).

[72] On this larger argument, see Thiessen, *Gentile Problem*, 154–60.

presented itself.[73] The point of disagreement concerns how *pneuma* is used in furthering this overall portrait of Paul within Judaism. The first problem relates with the inadequacy of ethnicity to explain the wide range of Paul's *spiritual* language. However we understand the baptism-unity formulas of Galatians 3 and 1 Corinthians 12, it is clear that when the baptizand is clothed with Christ in "one Spirit" and declared neither Jew nor gentile, but affirmed as one in Christ, the conceptual categories required to map this language must reach beyond human categories of genetics and ethnicity.[74] In fact, whatever kind of identity emerges out of spirit baptism, it is ethnicity that is specifically denied in naming the newly baptized member. Ethnicity and genealogy are indeed important strands in Paul's overall identity language (as the next section will address), but they cannot bear the weight that Hodge and Thiessen seek to place upon them in explaining Paul's *pneuma* and the so-called genealogy of faith.

As we have seen, these scholars go so far as to connect the *pneuma* with (admittedly heuristic) biogenetic concepts such as shared blood, gene therapy, and even DNA.[75] In essentializing the "spirit" as a matter of ethnicity, they press Paul's language of spiritual union with Christ (or Paul's ubiquitous "in Christ" terminology) in terms reducible to ethnic or other human categories. Importantly, such a move cuts sharply against the logic of Paul's writings, not least Romans 9–11. There Paul indicates that the status of the "children" that are reckoned by God does not depend on human will (τοῦ θελοντος) or advancement (τοῦ τρέχοντος) or birth order, but on the mercy of God (Rom 9:16). The resulting kinship is not a third race, nor a proxy for bloodlines on par with Abrahamic patrilineage. Instead, this kinship born *kata pneuma* is a gift of divine grace that requires

[73] Hodge, *If Sons*, 77, 117; and Fredriksen, *Paul*, 164–65.

[74] See Barclay, "Identity," 370 ("In discourse limited by anthropological or political tools of analysis, ethnicities may be represented as 'primordial' [natural, given and inherited] or as 'processural' [socially constructed and rhetorically negotiated], or as a subtle mixture of the two. . . . What this analysis [of ethnicity] cannot handle [except as a mythological construct] is the specifically theological forms of identity evoked in the Pauline letters, which represent the believers' identity as something received from outside human agency").

[75] E.g., Thiessen, *Gentile Problem*, 117; Hodge, *If Sons*, 76.

characterization in new terms, without contingency to existing categories of birthright, human striving, or status—but rather on the register of what Paul elsewhere deems "new creation."[76]

6.3.3. Does the *Pneuma* Establish Sonship?

Second, and perhaps more problematic, Hodge and Thiessen claim that kinship is grounded or constituted by the *pneuma* itself.[77] These arguments appear to misread Paul's use of *pneuma*, confusing the collocation of *pneuma* and kinship in his writings with its material or ontological basis. From an exegetical standpoint, Paul falls short of describing the *pneuma* as itself constitutive of "sonship." The promise in Galatians may concern Abraham and his "seed," but crucially, the *pneuma* is not identified as itself the "seed." Furthermore, in Paul's letters the *pneuma* is never presented as the means by which believers become "sons." Instead, Paul invariably inserts a degree of distance that stops short of linking *pneuma* and filial kinship. Believers receive the spirit of the Son (πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ) "because we are sons" (ὅτι δε ἐστε υἱοί) (Gal 4:6).[78] However that causal relationship denoted by ὅτι functions logically in this sentence, the status of sonship is somehow prior to or noncontingent on the reception of the *pneuma*. In Galatians, believers are said to receive adoption, not because they receive the Spirit, but because "God sent his son in order to redeem those under the law" (Gal 4:5). Likewise, in Romans 8, believers do not receive adoption *simpliciter*, but the "spirit of adoption," with the added commentary that the spirit itself testifies with their spirit that they are children of God (Rom 8:16). The logic of these degrees of separation mediated by God's sending of the "Son" or the "Spirit

[76] 2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15; Cf. Barclay, *Gift*, 520–61 (elucidating the "creative" shape of the "children of God" in Rom 9–11).

[77] "The spirit, or *pneuma*," says Hodge, "grants the gentiles a new ancestry, a new kinship with the God of Israel." Hodge, *If Sons*, 72. "The gift of the *pneuma*," Thiessen likewise concludes, "precisely because it is the *pneuma* of Abraham's seed, Christ, brings gentiles into a genealogical relationship with Abraham himself."

[78] The logical function of ὅτι involves a complex exegetical discussion that must be deferred. It suffices at this juncture that the status of sonship is preceded by the sending of the *pneuma*.

of the Son" forecloses any direct line connecting *pneuma* to sonship (whether Abrahamic or divine), and together they form a characteristic pattern of Paul's language concerning kinship identity. The *pneuma* relates to kinship in ways that are at every turn refracted by and conditioned upon the believer's union with Christ and by Christ's own relationship to God the Father as "Son."

Furthermore, both Hodge's and Thiessen's accounting of the "gentile problem" do not seem to adequately grapple with Paul's more fundamental category of "children of God." In other words, Hodge and Thiessen present Abrahamic sonship as the primary problem to resolve in Paul's mission. Beyond linking gentiles to Abrahamic patrilineage, however, Paul also operates with a more basic group of sonship which identifies God himself as their father: "Scripture imprisoned everything under sin, so that the promise by faith in Jesus Christ might be given to those who believe. . . . For in Christ Jesus, you are all sons of God, through faith" (Gal 3:22, 26). Hodge and Thiessen seem to conflate Abrahamic sonship with divine sonship, but the logic does not work in this direction.

Paul's invocation of Abraham is fraught with the complication that he fathers divergent lineages—a flexibility which Paul certainly exploits in both Galatians and Romans. He fathers the circumcised as well as the uncircumcised (Rom 4:11–12); he fathered Ishmael as well as Isaac and the groups each can flexibly represent (Gal 4:22). Of all the things that Abraham is described as in Galatians, it must be noted that he is not portrayed as "a son" or a "child of God"—the very status Paul wants to ascribe to the Galatians. It is *Isaac*, rather, who is the child born *according to the Spirit* (κατὰ πνεῦμα) (Gal 4:29), and whom believers are identified with as "children of the promise" (Gal 4:28). Accordingly, Abraham is not the only paradigm for believers in Christ in Galatians 3—Isaac also. Like Abraham, believers in Christ are righteous not by works of the law, but by faith in God. But like Isaac, the same believers are children of the promise, who are born *according to the spirit* as a gift of God—a miracle that cannot be determined on the basis of human decision or ability, but from God who raises the dead (Rom 4:18–24). The controlling category in Paul's Abrahamic discourse, then, is not simply how gentiles can be made into sons of Abraham. That designation is important as it establishes a kinship with Israel. Rather, the more essential category for Paul concerns the identity of the "sons of God" and how all

people (both Jews and gentiles) might be joined to this family. The accounts of Hodge and Thiessen are incomplete insofar as they do not properly account for how Paul uses both Abraham and Isaac as exemplars to the way God reckons his children based, not on ethnic genealogy, but on the "promise" concerning Christ.

In fairness, Thiessen's argument of the *pneuma*, as we have reviewed, is not wholly ethnic but also includes an account of Paul's view of divine kinship by connecting Abrahamic descent with a divinizing *pneuma*.[79] As I understand him, the christological development of his thesis concerning pneumatic transformation still depends on the genealogical transformation of receiving the pneumatic seed of Abraham, which is also, he argues, the seed of Christ. Insofar as Thiessen's argument depends on a particular understanding of the promise to Abraham as referring to his offspring to become "as the stars" in terms indicating their pneumatic ontology, this study disagrees and presents a decidedly different account of the constitution of Abrahamic and divine sonship which proceeds along the throughlines of faith, the promises of God, and the believer's union to Christ by means of the Spirit. Nevertheless, Thiessen may well report accurately that Paul's hearers would have often understood his pneumatic imagery in terms resonant with Stoic physics and ontology. As this study has trained its focus on the cultic dimensions of Paul's *pneuma*, nothing in this study refutes the finding that particular Pauline passages (e.g., 1 Cor 15:44, and its reference to a resurrection of a spiritual body) were retrieved by Paul's hearers in terms of an ontological necessity for the transformation of people toward more heavenly, rarefied, and indeed, *pneumatic* substances. The more basic point of contention concerns whether Paul regards the *pneuma* as effecting a substantive genealogical transformation of gentiles into children of Abraham and through him, pneumatic children of God in Christ.

In Pauline terms, rather than establishing or constituting kinship or ethnic ties, I have argued that the *pneuma* is more precisely indicated as a means by which believers are united to "the Son" and in turn draw their *familial* status derivatively from that union.[80] This *pneuma*

[79] See the discussion in § 6.3.1. See in particular Thiessen, *Gentile Problem*, 154–60.

[80] Grant Macaskill, "Incarnational Ontology and the Theology of Participation," in *"In Christ" in Paul: Explorations in Paul's Theology of Union and*

is received on a shared pattern of "faith" demonstrated archetypically in Abraham's trust in God's promise of the seemingly impossible birth of Isaac. In Pauline terms, "faith," more than *pneuma*, is more suitably the shared trait of family resemblance and its concomitant basis for kinship between Jewish and gentile believers.

6.3.4. Is There a *Pneuma* for Israel *Kata Sarka*?

Finally, the characterization of the *pneuma* in terms of a gentile solution to a specifically gentile problem seems to ignore the role of the "Spirit" within ethnic Israel's own prophesied restoration. In an important section, Thiessen classifies Paul's understanding of humanity and their connection to the *pneuma* into the following four categories:

(1) Sarkic Jews who have Christ's *pneuma*

(2) Sarkic Jews who lack Christ's *pneuma*

(3) Sarkic gentiles who have Christ's *pneuma*

(4) Sarkic gentiles who lack Christ's *pneuma*[81]

Thiessen recognizes, in dissension with the two-covenant (*Sonderweg*) programs of Gaston and Gager, that "Paul thinks that Jews need this good news about Christ Jesus as much as gentiles do."[82] Thiessen concludes that Paul thinks that Jews need this gospel "for somewhat different reasons than gentiles do" and because Paul's mission was to the gentiles, he "spends very little time explicating what problem Jews face that requires this gospel of Jesus Christ."[83] In other words, we cannot know what Paul thinks about *pneuma* for ethnic Jews because Paul does not write to them. It is here where Thiessen lays tremendous store in the argument that Paul writes exclusively to gentiles in his letters, thereby mooting the possibility that Paul's

Participation, ed Michael J. Thate, Kevin J. Vanhoozer, and Constantine R. Campbell (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 98 ("The Sonly status of Jesus is determinative for the adoption of those who receive his Spirit, but it is nowhere represented itself as being constituted by the Spirit").

81 Thiessen, *Gentile Problem*, 120.

82 Thiessen, *Gentile Problem*, 120.

83 Thiessen, *Gentile Problem*, 120.

instructions concerning the *pneuma* speak to ethnic Jews who lack the *pneuma*.[84] But this analysis too quickly forecloses discussion of the issues concerning Jews and gentiles on the procedural grounds of audience and readership.

To her credit, Hodge grapples with the merits of the role of the *pneuma* for both gentiles and Jews in Paul's letters. Hodge proposes that in Paul's age, Jews and gentiles now essentially share the same goal of living as the law requires, "but the means are different (life in the spirit for gentiles; faithful practice of the Law for Jews)."[85] As I have been arguing throughout, I am inclined to agree with this proposal, with important exceptions. Gentiles in Christ are described as "upholding the law" (Rom 3:31), which I take to mean that they are doing what the law requires of them as aliens in the midst of Israel's covenant.[86] I concur with Hodge (as well as Thiessen) that Jewish believers were not instructed to lay down Torah practice despite their baptism in Christ. While Hodge can recognize that Paul applies the new covenant for gentiles (Jer 31 and Ezek 36), Hodge's proposal does not grapple with the relevance of the new covenant and the power of the Spirit for Israel. But in these prophetic texts, the new covenant is the covenant which was made with the houses of Israel and Judah.[87] Ironically, the pneumatologies written within the Paul-within-Judaism framework leave the place of the *pneuma* for Jews largely undeveloped, developing a non-Jewish and Stoicized rendering of *pneuma* for non-Jewish recipients of Paul's letters.

If Paul's mission has in mind the promises of the new covenant (e.g., 2 Cor 3:6; 1 Cor 11:25; cf. Jer 31:33; Ezek 36:26–27; Isa 59:21), one should expect that Paul anticipated the new covenant *pneuma* to be intended for Israel as well as gentiles. The reference to the covenant and the removal of sins for Israel in Romans 11:27

[84] See the discussion on "audience," n. 35 above.

[85] Hodge, *If Sons*, 74.

[86] See the discussion on the Apostolic Decree in § 5.1.3.

[87] Jer 31:31–32 (The "new covenant *with the house of Israel and the house of Judah . . . will not be like the covenant I made with their forefathers* when I took them by the hand to lead them out of Egypt, because they broke my covenant"); Isa 59:21 (notice here that the covenant is with reference to "My Spirit that is upon you").

supports this point.[88] By combining two Isaianic prophecies with respect to ethnic Israel, Paul envisions the "covenant with Israel" to be a matter of the *forgiveness of sins*, the same distinctive promise of Jeremiah's new covenant. The content of the "covenant" in Isaiah 59, importantly, concerns the "Spirit that is upon [Israel]" and that Spirit will never depart from them (Isa 59:21). In other words, the covenant in Romans 11:27, concerning Israel's restoration, appears to correspond with the features of the covenant of Jeremiah 31 and Ezekiel 36. Both are covenants that address the forgiveness of sins in connection with a giving of the Spirit and the righteous manner of walking according to the law.[89] There appears but one and the same Spirit that restores God's people, both Israel and the gentiles. The "new covenant" was not a Christian interpolation of Jewish texts or a vehicle for supersessionism but rather signified a set of promises squarely within the aegis and horizon of Jewish eschatology.

The scholarship of Caroline Johnson Hodge and Matthew Thiessen has advanced our understanding of the *pneuma* considerably. Many of their broader points concerning Paul's relationship to Judaism are consonant with the claims of this thesis. My main points of criticism primarily surround their presentation of *pneuma* in terms of ethnicity and nationality. By registering Paul's *pneuma* language on the level of ethnicity and as a gentile proxy for Abrahamic bloodlines, these proposals are calculated to avoid a Christian universalizing "Spirit." What results in this avoidance is a reconstruction of a material *pneuma* that is ultimately incapable of handling the shape of Paul's logic of family ties that are rooted in the identity of Christ's own status as Son, and by virtue of baptismal union, the status of believers in Christ as "children

[88] While most scholars recognize Isa 27:9 and Isa 59:21 to supply the allusion, given the phrase ὅταν ἀφέλωμαι αὐτοῦ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, the links with "covenant" and the forgiveness of sins also suggest a correspondence with Jer 31:33. See, e.g., Thomas R. Schreiner, *Romans*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2018), 602. Importantly, the covenant with Israel in Isa 59:21 is likewise a covenant concerning the "spirit": "And this is my covenant with them, says the Lord: My Spirit that is upon you . . . shall not depart out of your mouth."

[89] On the Pauline logic of the Spirit as the power of obedience to the Law in 2 Cor 3, see Scott J. Hafemann, *Paul, Moses, and the History of Israel: The Letter/Spirit Contrast and the Argument from Scripture in 2 Corinthians 3* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1995).

of God by faith." In Pauline logic, children *of the Spirit* are not ethnically children of Abraham; they are children *of God* who share the same faith of Abraham in the promises of God.

6.4. The Apocalyptic Paul, *Pneuma*, and the Question of Continuity

This extended discussion between Paul-within-Judaism and new perspective scholarship, particularly as it touches upon the perdurance of Israel after Christ, invites exchange with the so-called apocalyptic Paul paradigm in Pauline theology.[90] By this, I refer to a particular group of Pauline interpretation that was set in motion principally by Ernst Käsemann and given distinct shape by J. Louis Martyn and those following him. The terminology of "apocalyptic" has been (by admission of some of its proponents)[91] an ongoing source of confusion. The term for this particular reading of Pauline theology has in mind something quite distinct from the norms and characteristics of Jewish apocalypticism, the genre apocalypse, and apocalyptic eschatology.[92]

[90] The amount of literature generated around this particular approach to Pauline theology in a fairly compressed time frame is a testament to its salience and importance, not only in historical critical scholarship of the Bible, but also in Christian theological exchange. See, e.g., R. Barry Matlock, *Unveiling the Apocalyptic Paul: Paul's Interpreters and the Rhetoric of Criticism* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996); Ben C. Blackwell, John K. Goodrich, and Jason Maston, *Paul and the Apocalyptic Imagination* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2016); and J. P. Davies, *Paul among the Apocalypses? An Evaluation of the "Apocalyptic Paul" in the Context of Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Literature* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).

[91] E.g., the remarks of Beverly R. Gaventa, "The Singularity of the Gospel: A Reading of Galatians," in *Pauline Theology*, ed. Jouette M. Bassler (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 1:158–59; also Douglas A. Campbell, *The Quest for Paul's Gospel: A Suggested Strategy* (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 56–57.

[92] On these distinctions, see Lorenzo DiTommaso, "Apocalypses and Apocalypticism in Antiquity (Part I)," *Currents in Research* 5, no. 2 (2007): 235–86. Scholars studying the features of Jewish apocalyptic material include Klaus Koch, John Collins, Christopher Rowland, and Loren Stuckenbruck, among others. For an overview of this enclave of scholarship, see Benjamin E. Reynolds and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, eds., *The Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition and the Shaping of New Testament Thought* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2017); Christopher Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (1982; repr., Eugene, Ore.: Wipf & Stock, 2002), 48 (noting that while an

Douglas Campbell goes as far as deeming "the identification of apocalyptic literature as a genre" to be "useless to the Pauline interpreter other than as background characterization."[93] Consequently, while some critics of this group of scholarship rightly observe that scarce little of the "apocalyptic Paul" scholarship actually appeals to the literary and ideological aspects of apocalyptic literature,[94] the point is seldom recognized that such avoidance is largely by design.[95] This section will discuss the contributions of J. L. Martyn and Douglas Campbell to canvas an apocalyptic interpretation of Israel and gentile churches while paying close attention to how the Spirit is used in furthering their claims.

6.4.1. J. L. Martyn and Galatians

According to Martyn's reading of Galatians, much is made of the interchangeability of the Pauline term "apocalypse of faith" with "the coming of Christ" (cf. Gal 3:24 and 3:25).[96] Consequently, instead of the traditional understanding of the term "apocalypse" as revealing or unveiling that which has been hidden, Martyn explains the term in the following manner:

> Paul's apocalyptic is not focused on God's unveiling something that was previously hidden as though it had been eternally

apocalypse may "contain much eschatological material," eschatology itself is not "a constitutive feature of apocalyptic").

[93] Campbell, *Quest*, 56–57 (citing also Wayne A. Meeks, "Social Functions of Apocalyptic Language in Pauline Christianity," in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East*, ed. David Hellholm [Tübingen: Mohr, 1983]). To be clear, Campbell characterizes his own framing of Paul under the penumbra of "apocalyptic" interpretations, but he importantly moves away from the constraints and features of the genre as itself determinative of the shape of Paul's symbolic and theological system of thinking.

[94] E.g., the prefatory remarks of Reynolds and Stuckenbruck, *Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition*, xv.

[95] The work of Martinus de Boer is a notable exception of one in this group of scholarship seeking to frame Pauline theology directly in a pattern rooted in and with the pattern of apocalyptic literature. See, e.g., Martinus C. de Boer, "Paul, Theologian of God's Apocalypse," *Interpretation* 56, no. 1 (2002): 21–33.

[96] J. Louis Martyn, *Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 99 ("Paul thus explicates the verb *apokalyptô* with the verbs *erchomai*, 'to come [on the scene],' and *exapostellô*, 'to send [into the scene]' [4:4–6]").

> standing behind a curtain (contrast 1 Cor 2:9–10). The genesis of Paul's apocalyptic—as we see it in Galatians—lies in the apostle's certainty that God had *invaded* the present evil age by sending Christ and his Spirit into it.[97]

To be clear, then, an apocalyptic reading of Paul emphasizes not a revelation of hidden wisdom but God's *invasion* of the entire cosmos, which had been subject to the powers of sin and death (Gal 3:22).[98]

Whatever acknowledgment of narrative continuity is granted toward a discernible redemptive history, it is nevertheless insisted in this view that the so-called Christ event constitutes an *invasion* that is fiercely calculated to be fundamentally irruptive, "punctiliar,"[99] or otherwise arriving from outside the timeline of human history as though "vertical from above."[100] In emphasizing this aspect, importance is often attributed to the instances where Paul describes himself or other apostles as having been "taught by God" (cf. 1 Thess 4:9) or as receiving God's mystery by direct revelation rather than by man (cf. Gal 1:12, 16). Against the new perspective, Martyn quarrels that their presentation of the Pauline gospel mischaracterizes Paul's reassessment of the law. Paul is not correcting an "old and unacceptably narrow view" of the law, widening the circle, as it were, to relax the standards of Torah in order to permit gentile inclusion. Instead, Martyn argues that Paul, particularly in Galatians, locates obedience to Torah as operating on "the human side of a divine-human antinomy that has arisen with the advent of the gospel."[101] In keeping clear

[97] Martyn, *Galatians*, 99.

[98] See further, J. Louis Martyn, "Apocalyptic Antinomies in Paul's Letter to the Galatians," *NTS* 31, no. 3 (1985): 410–24.

[99] For this language of irruption and punctiliarity, see, e.g., J. Louis Martyn, "Events in Galatia: Modified Covenantal Nomism versus God's Invasion of the Cosmos in the Singular Gospel: A Response to J. D. G. Dunn and B. R. Gaventa," in *Pauline Theology*, ed. Jouette M. Bassler, vol. 1 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 160–79.

[100] The phrase *Senkrecht von Oben* is an oft-quoted formulation characterizing Barth's view of divine revelation such that any revelation draws its origins from God himself as opposed to the plane of history and human striving. E.g., Karl Barth, *The Epistle to the Romans* (1933), trans. Edwyn C. Hoskyns, 6th ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 30; Karl Barth, *Der Römerbrief* (1922; repr., Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2008), 6.

[101] Martyn, "Events in Galatia," 166.

divides between Martyn's arrangement of Pauline antinomies, he memorably insists that "for Paul there are no through-trains *from* the patriarchal traditions and their perceptive criteria—whether Jewish or Greek—*to* the gospel of God's Son."[102]

Because of the stark denials in Martyn and subsequent apocalyptic readings of Paul such that even Israel and the law, holy as they are, have been subsumed by the powers of sin and darkness, the nuances of their positions are often mischaracterized in the secondary literature. Wright overstates his criticism when he characterizes the apocalyptic reading as an "anti-Jewish Christianity" that steps toward Marcion, and wanting Paul "to have nothing to do with Abraham, with the covenant or with the whole story of Israel."[103] The chief point of contention is the extent to which Martyn and apocalyptic interpreters actually deny continuity of Paul's gospel with the covenants and the history/identity of Israel in the context of the well-worn debates over continuity and discontinuity.[104] The actual locus of discontinuity that Martyn identifies in Paul's gospel is not a break from Judaism

[102] J. Louis Martyn, "Paul and His Jewish-Christian Interpreters," *USQR* 42, no. 1–2 (1988): 6.

[103] Wright, *PFG*, 990, 1481. Martyn was aware of the charge of Marcionism that his or other views of discontinuity with Israel would be susceptible to. He distinguished his view of creation and "the world" from a Marcionite view in J. Louis Martyn, "World without End or Twice-Invaded World?" in *Shaking Heaven and Earth: Essays in Honor of Walter Brueggemann and Charles B. Cousar*, ed. Walter Brueggemann, Christine Roy Yoder, and Charles B. Cousar (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2005), 117–32. Martyn also recognizes that "the God who called [Paul] is the God of the prophets (and of Abraham; 3:6–29)" and finds a link with his own prophetic call with that of Jeremiah and Isaiah. See, e.g., Martyn, *Galatians*, 164.

[104] E.g., James D. G. Dunn, "How New Was Paul's Gospel? The Problem of Continuity and Discontinuity," in *Gospel in Paul: Studies on Corinthians, Galatians and Romans for Richard N. Longenecker*, ed. L. Ann Jervis and Peter Richardson (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 367–88. See, more recently, Jörg Frey, "Demythologizing Apocalyptic? On N. T. Wright's Paul, Apocalyptic Interpretation, and the Constraints of Construction," in *God and the Faithfulness of Paul: A Critical Examination of the Pauline Theology of N. T. Wright*, ed. Michael F. Bird, Christoph Heilig, and J. Thomas Hewitt (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 489–532 (which proposes a third way forward between the more salvation-historical approach of N. T. Wright and apocalyptic readings of Paul); also Douglas Harink, "J. L. Martyn and Apocalyptic Discontinuity: The

to Christianity, but rather an abstraction he names "religion." He is worth quoting at length:

> It follows that Paul does not speak in [Galatians] 1:15–16 of being converted from one religion, Judaism, to another, Christianity. Nor, in speaking to the Gentile Galatians, does Paul denigrate Judaism. As the whole of the letter shows, he is consistently concerned to say that the advent of Christ is the end of religion. With his call, then, he neither remained in the religion of Judaism nor transferred to a new religion, from which vantage point he could comparatively denigrate his earlier religion.[105]

In fact, much of the criticism that the apocalyptic reading regards Paul as denying Israel's status as God's elect is fair only when retrieving Martyn's reading of Galatians only. Martyn reads Galatians for all its worth and views Paul as portraying God even as "absent at the genesis of the Law," foreclosing any place for a divine, nomistic election of Israel.[106] Martyn, however, recognizes that in Romans, Paul affirms the election of Israel and the law (in a secondary way distinct from the pattern of the promise to Abraham).[107] "In writing Romans," says Martyn, with regard to Galatians, "Paul certainly did rescind his earlier denial of Israel's ancient election. Are we to say, then, that he changed his mind?"[108]

Compared against the aims of the new perspective and Paul-within-Judaism scholars, the crucial issues of the apocalyptic reading concerning the *pneuma* is not the identity of Abraham's descendants, but rather the much larger and more cosmic conflict with sin and death. The Spirit, for the apocalyptic reading of Paul, is the unprecedented agent of change in all creation that arrives only with Christ's advent and operates wholly outside the machinery of the world and its powers. Rather than reading the Pauline dualism of "Spirit and Flesh" as spheres of influence that the individual believer is caught between,

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Trinitarian, Christological Ground of Galatians in Galatians 4:1–11," *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 7, nos. 1–2 (2017): 101–11.

[105] Martyn, *Galatians*, 164.

[106] Martyn, *Galatians*, 350.

[107] Martyn, *Galatians*, 351.

[108] Martyn, *Galatians*, 351.

Martyn views Paul as characterizing this struggle as "the apocalyptic battle of the end-time, the war that has been declared by the Spirit, not by the Flesh."[109]

Insofar as Martyn frames Paul's apocalyptic gospel in terms of God's sending the Son *and the Spirit* into the present evil age by means of an invasion from outside, this assumes something quite problematic about the Spirit. It assumes that the Spirit also was not present in the world before the Christ event, only merely promised. The following comments from John Barclay captures well this line of reasoning with respect to Paul's view of *pneuma:*

> Paul's new and totalizing master-narrative of the gift of God in Christ tells of a transformative and radically innovative divine intervention creating historical phenomena (including the *pneuma*) that had been previously promised but never before introduced into the cosmos.[110]

But if the Spirit of God attested to in Israel's Scriptures is the same Spirit in Paul's gospel, then there remains no point in history in which God's Spirit can be said to invade. To the contrary, the argument has been made here that Paul relies on a continuity of God's presence with his people in terms of Spirit. As Israel's prophets have affirmed, "the Spirit stands" in Israel's midst (Hag 2:5).[111]

6.4.2. Douglas Campbell and Romans

Douglas Campbell, along these lines, articulates a rendering of Paulinism he names PPME, which stands for the participatory, pneumatological, martyrological, eschatological quality of Paul's gospel.[112] Campbell's

[109] Martyn, *Galatians*, 494.

[110] John M. G. Barclay, "Stoic Physics and the Christ-Event: A Review of Troels Engberg-Pedersen, Cosmology and the Self in the Apostle Paul: The Material Spirit," *JSNT* 33, no. 4 (2011): 406–14, 413.

[111] Translation is mine. See the helpful discussion of this passage in John R. Levison, *The Holy Spirit before Christianity* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2019), 74–83.

[112] Campbell, *Quest*, 56 ("I don't mind what we call it, as long as we discuss its nature, structure, and defence"). The elucidation and defense of his PPME framework can be found at 57–93.

project seeks to correct the contractual and conditional majority reading of Paul, with roots drawing back through mainline Protestantism and the Reformation. Campbell seeks instead to center Paul's theology as it is formulated in Romans 5–8,[113] which gives pride of place to Paul's *participatory* "in Christ" conceptuality, which in turn is marked by Christ's death and resurrection, a *martyrological* reality that the *pneuma* recapitulates in each believer in a process of transformation that is ensured in light of the *eschatological* reality that has dawned.[114] Importantly, Campbell finds that Paul regards the Spirit to be the principal locus of continuity that ties creation, Israel, and eschatological believers together[115]—a view this study largely resonates with. He goes so far as to name "pneumatology [as] the key to the soteriological mechanism" of his program over against faith or mystical union.[116]

Like Martyn's scheme, Campbell's overall view of Pauline theology is often critiqued for the starkness of the things that he denies.[117] At the heart of his project, following Martyn (and also the noncontrastive divine transcendence of Barth), he exhibits painstaking avoidance of any aspect of Paul's gospel that is either (1) contractual and merit-based as the basis for God's acceptance of persons, or (2) progressively salvation-historical in character. He firms up the irrevocability of these denials in his prodigious treatise *Deliverance of God*.[118] Whereas Martyn leaves open the possibility for Paul's

[113] Campbell sees Rom 1–4 as elucidating the principal contours of what he calls justification by faith theory and Rom 9–11 mapping the concerns of salvation historical schemes. I do not see where Campbell finds these sections of Paul's letter to signify three self-contained views, nor do I agree with him that these represent three incompatible readings with "fundamentally different assumptions about reality, about salvation, and about its appropriation" (*Quest*, 25).

[114] Campbell, *Quest*, 57–68, esp. 58–59.

[115] Campbell, *Quest*, 64.

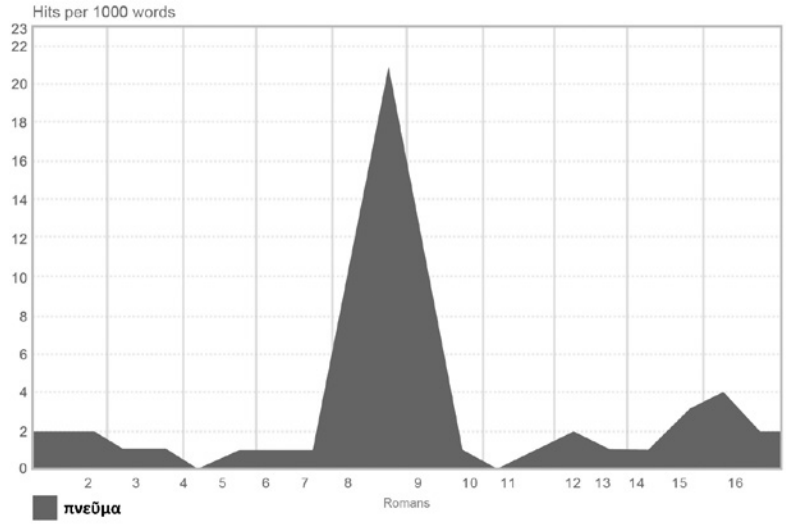
[116] Campbell, *Quest*, 60.

[117] See, e.g., Barclay, *Gift*, 169–74 (comparing Campbell's insistence on the unconditional noncircularity of grace as finding parallels only to Marcion in the history of interpretation); Grant Macaskill, "Review Article: *The Deliverance of God*," *JSNT* 34, no. 2 (2011): 150–61.

[118] Douglas A. Campbell, *The Deliverance of God: An Apocalyptic Rereading of Justification in Paul* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009).

gospel to include an election of Israel for its own sake according to his reading of Romans, Campbell closes this door firmly shut—the heart of his apocalyptic interpretation is centered on his novel reading of Romans.[119]

Considering Romans in particular, Campbell strains to take Paul's voice away from Romans 1–4 and 9–11, deeming these sections to serve as a view of his opponents by means of prosopological exegesis. There are, however, less extreme ways to retain the centrality of Romans 5–8, while holding the Pauline unity of the letter together. One clue confirming that there is a structured center in Romans comes by tracing the clearly intentional pattern of the occurrences of *pneuma* throughout the letter. We can depict this graphically in the following figure.[120]



Occurrences of the πνεῦμα lexeme in Romans

[119] Campbell, *Deliverance*. His prosopological reading of Rom 1–4 as it relates to the rest of Romans has won few supporters. Nor is it clear to me that it is necessary for him to exclude Rom 1–4 and 9–11 as incompatible with chapters 5–8 to support his overall program at least as it concerns PPME; but I admit that I may be misunderstanding the theological commitments that he deems nonnegotiable in those sections of Romans.

[120] The figure was generated by a Hits Graph search from the Accordance platform.

Not only do the occurrences of *pneuma* spike in Romans 8 prominently, but they drop off with corresponding paucity throughout the surrounding sections of the epistle, almost as though attempting to purposefully avoid use of the lexeme (even in sections where it makes sense to speak in terms of *pneuma*).[121] We find nothing like this lexical distributive phenomenon in any of Paul's other letters.[122] We cannot know for certain what Paul's didactic purpose was in crafting such a calculated arrangement.[123] And while scholars have puzzled over the implications of such an explosion of *pneuma* language at the center of Romans, few have deemed the structural center of the epistle to serve as the interpretive key to the entire letter.[124] It is, however, this sort of structural prominence that may lend more strength to Campbell's claim concerning the centrality of Romans 5–8 for the proper understanding of the whole letter.

6.4.3. On the Christ Event, Metanarratives, and Reading Backward

It is a commonplace for apocalyptic readings of Paul to emphasize the so-called Christ event as a type of magnetic north for a proper

[121] One such example is the discussion of gifts in Rom 12. The diversity of gifts within the body concerns a discussion that Paul elsewhere describes in the language of *pneuma* and *pneumatikos* (1 Cor 12–14). But Paul, as it were, keeps the word in abeyance in Rom 12–14, so that it retains a distinct prominence in this structured center at Romans 8.

[122] Although we should note that Colossians displays a similarly calculated avoidance of the *pneuma* lexeme, particularly in places we might expect to find it given the parallels Colossians bears with Ephesians. E.g., compare Eph 5:18–19 with Col 3:16–17 (substituting "be filled with the spirit" with "let the word of Christ dwell in you richly").

[123] The lexeme πνεῦμα and its cognates occur twenty-one times in the eighth chapter, and all but two of the occurrences (vv. 15a and 16b) refer to the Holy Spirit. E.g., Douglas J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 468 (observing such prominence works out to almost once every two verses).

[124] Apart from Campbell, other notable examples of a central, structural reading of Romans can be found in Richard N. Longenecker, "The Focus of Romans: The Central Role of 5:1–8:39 in the Argument of the Letter," in *Romans and the People of God: Essays in Honor of Gordon D. Fee*, ed. Sven K. Soderlund and N. T. Wright (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999); and L. Ann Jervis, *The Purpose of Romans: A Comparative Letter Structure Investigation* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991).

orientation of Pauline theology.[125] In contrast to a progressive, forward reading of salvation history as advancing from creation, to promise, to fulfillment in Christ, apocalyptic readings contend that Paul views history "through Christ and from Christ backward."[126] In many regards, this inherits from E. P. Sanders the classic Pauline category of "problem and solution," wherein it is insisted that for Paul the "solution precedes the problem."[127] Central to an apocalyptic interpretation, then, is the idea that the Christ event generates a new understanding of history, Israel, and the identity of God's people. Accordingly, the basis for Paul's understanding of Israel's history, now with direct reference to Christ, is supplied by a hermeneutics of reading backward. Gaventa sums up this approach well: "In the death and resurrection of Christ Jesus, God has begun to reclaim the world that belongs to God alone, God's action in Christ Jesus reveals retrospectively the extent of human enslavement; the whole of humanity (indeed, the whole of creation) is, in effect, revealed in Christ Jesus."[128] The scope of emphasis then includes the destiny of Israel and the gentiles but encompasses far more in its wide-angle apocalyptic lens. The right understanding of Israel, as everything else, must now be reinterpreted in light of the revelation in Christ. Adds Gaventa, "Israel's very identity is revealed in light of Christ."[129]

Francis Watson enters this discussion, largely in criticism of a narrative approach to Scripture, with the observation that Paul does not appeal to a unified scriptural story as a whole; while Paul appeals to Scripture abundantly in his letters, he does not incorporate his

[125] An origin for this expression likely owes to J. C. Beker, *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 18.

[126] Beverly R. Gaventa, "Thinking from Christ to Israel: Romans 9–11 in Apocalyptic Context," in *Paul and the Apocalyptic Imagination*, ed. Ben C. Blackwell, John K. Goodrich, and Jason Maston (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2016), 242.

[127] Sanders, *Paul*, 548–49.

[128] Gaventa, "Christ to Israel," 241.

[129] Gaventa, "Christ to Israel," 241. Campbell goes so far as to identify "forwardness" to be "the basic problem underlying all the specific difficulties in Pauline scholarship." Douglas A. Campbell, "An Attempt to Be Understood: A Response to the Concerns of Matlock and Macaskill with *The Deliverance of God*," *JSNT* 34, no. 2 (2011): 166 and 176 (adding that we must "read Paul consistently 'backward' and *never* read him 'forward'").

gospel message in service of a larger scriptural narrative, but rather uses Scripture in support of various aspects of his gospel.[130] In this way, Watson deems Paul to be elucidating "an essentially nonnarratable gospel."[131] Christ is not presented as a character in the scriptural narrative (from Adam, to Israel, to Christ). Rather, Paul interprets Scripture in light of Christ but more importantly, interprets Christ in the light of scriptural narrative, "for it is his vocation as an apostle to interpret scripture not for its own sake but for the sake of its testimony to God's act in Christ."[132] Watson does not find this kind of interpretation as "tracing" anything along the vein of scriptural history and scriptural narrative: "[T]he grace of the one man Jesus Christ is the gift of God, and the divine act of giving occurs within the vertical plane rather than the horizontal one."[133]

6.5. Conclusion: Synthesis and Proposals for Further Engagement

As we have seen, Wright exemplifies an understanding of spiritual fulfillment in which the old Jewish/gentile differences are now relativized in the name of Christian unity. Paul-within-Judaism scholarship, by contrast, lays the accent on *ethnicity* as something that is not relativized, but embraced in Paul's symbolic and prophetic system of thought. Jews must remain Jews and gentiles must remain gentiles. Gentiles are conjoined or (in more Pauline terms) grafted by some form of *pneumatic* material so that they receive an ethnic proxy for standing with the Jewish people. Against both views, "apocalyptic Paul" scholars find in Paul's gospel a *novum* of radical singularity, unconditioned by the natural events of history (including, to a large extent, Israel's own history), but instead preeminently revealed in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Under such a view, Israel's covenant and legal obligations are not so much irrelevant as they are

[130] Francis Watson, "Is There a Story in These Texts?" in *Narrative Dynamics in Paul: A Critical Assessment*, ed. Bruce W. Longenecker (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 234–35.

[131] Watson, "Story," 239.

[132] Watson, "Story," 238.

[133] Watson, "Story," 239. Watson, in this way, shares similar theological commitments with Martyn and Campbell, citing with approval Barth's dictum that the gospel announces a divine incursion into the world "vertically from above" (232).

subsumed under the more basic conflict of sin and death. Contrary to the Paul-within-Judaism paradigm, the apocalyptic presentation of Paul's gospel is decidedly nonethnic and conditioned by a new way of knowledge and understanding through what has been revealed in Christ. So says Martyn: "In the disruptive action of God in Christ, Paul found that crucial aspects of his Jewish heritage were also given back to him, re-minted into non-religious currency, but if anything, with heightened significance: 'God is one' (Gal 3:20; Rom 3:30); Abraham is 'the father of us all' (Rom 4:16; cf. Gal 3:29)."[134] Having reset the three perspectives in broad relief, we are able to make some synthetic arguments concerning the contribution of this thesis into these various debates.

6.5.1. *Pneuma* and Ethnic Israel

Of principal importance in this chapter is the argument that the *pneuma* is being pressed to carry loads in each of these respective arguments in ways that it is not suited to bear. Wright stands for the claim that the Spirit makes gentile Christians to be Jewish (by fulfilling the promises made to Israel). Ironically, Paul-within-Judaism scholars stand for a similar claim: the spirit makes gentile Christians akin to Jewish people (not by fulfillment, but by a construction of *pneuma*-based, genealogical ethnicity). This study contends that the Spirit accomplishes neither in Pauline discourse. *Pace* the Paul-within-Judaism reading, Paul's view of *pneuma* is not used as a means to constitute Abrahamic sonship; *pneuma* only testifies that all *believers* are "sons of God"—which we have tried to demonstrate are not overlapping concepts. Isaac, as the son *kata pneuma*, is the paradigm for this family, not because of ethnicity or bloodline, but because of what he signifies: the impossibility of being born under circumstances that defy the limits of human striving and, consequently, appropriated by those who trust in God's promises.

But *pace* both the new perspective and apocalyptic readings, spiritual fulfillment does not in turn establish that *pneuma* fulfills God's promises in terms that end the Jewish law for Jewish believers. Such a view simply ignores too much of the evidence in the texts revealing

[134] J. Louis Martyn, "Paul and Christian Judaism," in *Theological Issues in the Letters of Paul* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1997), 1–2.

believers grappling with how to maintain their allegiances to Torah in the context of the new "one-in-Christ" unity. In Pauline terms, Jewish believers sought to walk according to the law, not to establish a righteousness of their own, but because the "Torah is holy and good" (Rom 7:12). The Jerusalem Council in Acts 15 provides the closest evidence of how Jews-in-Christ still took for granted the obligation to observe the Jewish law as Messiah people with gentiles in their midst. Paul's rhetoric of removing obstacles for the gospel, and even of dying to the law (Gal 2:19), should not be read as a pronouncement of the death of Torah, but rather as the ethos of the in-Christ unity, where gentiles remain as gentiles, "belonging to another" (Rom 7:4), and as such, must not seek to establish their membership in the "one-in-Christ" family on the basis of "works of the Law." Paul-within-Judaism scholars, then, are quite correct to emphasize Paul's gospel as emerging in concert with his Jewish beliefs and in line with his understanding of Jewish prophecy.

6.5.2. Time and Spatiality

For the new perspective in particular, the promises and figures of Scripture proceed in a forward vector of fulfillment. Exile remains a single, suspended phase for Wright, going back to the timeline of the departure of God's glory within Israel's midst.[135] For Wright, there is a "single story" of Scripture,[136] "the long story of the world,"[137] which begins with Adam, traces through Abraham, Moses, David, and the exile, and finds its ultimate fulfillment in the Messiah. The

[135] N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 299–301; Wright, *PFG*, 139–63.

[136] Wright, *PFG*, 1455; Wright wants to avoid characterizing his metanarrative as a linear progression akin to "salvation history," but it appears that his only defense against such a characterization is to identify the story as bearing "subversive twists" and surprising turns along the way; see, e.g., Wright, *PFG*, 1062 (describing how Paul "radically redrew . . . the story of God's people" but developing it in "the shocking and totally unexpected way in which the story had in fact reached its denouement"); also 516.

[137] N. T. Wright, *Paul and His Recent Interpreters: Some Contemporary Debates* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2015), 147, also 152. He is also known to invoke the analogy of a five-act drama to portray the narrative story of Scripture. N. T. Wright, *Scripture and the Authority of God: How to Read the Bible Today* (New York: Harper One, 2011), 122–27.

fundamental problem of insisting on a single "story" of the Bible is in what the story leaves out. Wright's "story," broad as it may be, leaves out many of the features of Scripture (its cultic instructions, its poetry, its prophetic instruction, its experiential renderings of Christ, and so forth). All aspects of Scripture not fitting within the frame of the story have a tendency to be discarded.[138] But Paul does not appear to interact with Scripture as a contained narrative. Instead, Paul cuts across Scripture at the angle of "faith" and "promise," and indeed permits Abraham, Isaac, and David to speak in a particular gospel register resonant with those terms (e.g., 2 Cor 4:13–14; Gal 3:8). Importantly, Paul can distinguish "the gospel" as one way of viewing Israel: *outsiders* (Rom 11:28a); but he can also distinguish "the election" as another way of viewing Israel: *beloved for the sake of the fathers* (Rom 11:28b). Wright's vision collapses these two categories into one, filtering out far too much to describe the kind of unity Paul labored to forge in the churches.

But with Wright (and in modification of the apocalyptic reading), I agree that Paul regards the promises in Scripture concerning the covenant and the temple as forming the unavoidable context for Christ as Messiah. The images of Christ's union with his people remain in the clothing of Israel's requirements for maintaining sacred space—even if on a corresponding heavenly register. Temple, commandment, and covenant are symbols that Paul relies on to give

[138] Instead of working within a discernible grand narrative, it is perhaps more accurate to describe Paul's use of figures, motifs, catchwords, and prophecies in the Jewish Scripture as selecting authoritative material to affirm key aspects of community identity and ethical obligation. Rather than being constrained by a narrative substructure, the material is more freely selected within a rich anthology for its value in addressing the various needs and concerns of the community in their present time. Stuckenbruck artfully characterizes this kind of selectivity as "a way to recover what it visibly means to be God's people in the present." Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "Some Reflections on Apocalyptic Thought and Time in Literature from the Second Temple Period," in *Paul and the Apocalyptic Imagination*, ed. Ben C. Blackwell, John K. Goodrich, and Jason Maston (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2016), 148; see also Erich S. Gruen, "The Use and Abuse of the Exodus Story," in *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 41–72 (demonstrating how Exodus narratives have been handled in diaspora textual communities in rich and diverse ways to meet the needs of each of the writers and communities).

shape to the relational pattern of Christ and his people. As I understand Martyn and the apocalyptic reading of these symbols, they are affirmed only retrospectively and never in the role of forming a context to understand God's saving activity in Christ. But this appears to assume something deficient in God's presence with Israel that is only corrected in the age of the church.

Framing Paul's spirit-temple imagery in terms of its spatial features provides a needed dimension to better handle the complexities of Paul's use of Scripture and his interaction with Israel as a motif. Spatiality allows us to discuss Jewish and gentile unity in real contexts without being limited to issues of temporal sequence, and therefore, constrained by interpretations that must pair Jewish precursors with a matching climax over time. Paul can speak of Christ's presence with Israel in terms of the rock itself, not as a prefigured shadow of a later reality. God's presence bears a pattern that does not evolve or develop over time, but rather enters time from outside. The symbols of that embodied presence (e.g., the rock, the temple, the cloud, the glory) are active symbols that point to the reality of God's presence in and through time. Crucially, Paul uses "spiritual" language to characterize these theophanies with Israel (i.e., Israel's spiritual food and spiritual drink [1 Cor 10:3–4]). The important question concerning the Spirit in the age of Christ is not simply a matter of "when" God's promises find their fulfillment, but rather the overlooked question of "where" God's presence can be found on the earth and whether both Jews and gentiles can be regarded as near or far from that presence.

6.5.3. The Spirit as the Locus of Continuity

A promising common ground among these three renderings of Paul is the idea that the *Spirit* presents an important locus of continuity between Israel and the church, and between Jewish and Christian Scriptures. For Wright, the Spirit in the life of believers is nothing less than the *shekinah*: "[T]he long-awaited, glorious tabernacling presence is the spirit" (*PFG*, 711). And while Martyn and the apocalyptic readings betray an aversion to any kind of progression or trajectory from Israel to Christ, their readings, it appears, are amenable to the idea that God's Spirit is the constant of vertical inbreaking that Israel and the church can be said to share together. So Campbell: "[T]he concerns of the critics about continuity can in my view be met, provided that we grasp what the concrete role of the Spirit is in relation

not just to Christ but to humanity and creation."[139] Importantly, J. C. Beker, a pioneering voice for the apocalyptic Paul interpretation, writes that, in summarizing his letters together, "for Paul, the locus of the interaction between coherence and contingency is the Holy Spirit."[140]

It is unclear how receptive interpreters holding to a Paul-within-Judaism view would be to the suggestion of a close connection between the "Spirit of God" of the Hebrew Scriptures and the same Spirit of Paul's covenantal eschatology. As far as I have reviewed, Paul-within-Judaism scholarship presently lacks an account of *pneuma* that applies to and for practicing Jews. Instead, the state of the art in this group of scholarship is to leave the *pneuma* for Jews undeveloped on the basis that Paul's letters to gentile churches did not include his thinking on these matters.[141] The argument has been made here that Paul regards the *pneuma* as that which not only saves Jewish believers in his present time, but also forms the basis for a fuller restoration of Israel in the future (cf. Isa 59:20–21 and Rom 11:26–27).

6.5.4. Circling Back to the Corinthian Letters

To this point, the discussion among new perspective on Paul, Paul-within-Judaism, and apocalyptic Paul scholarship has centered predominately around Galatians and Romans and the ways in which these two letters frame the principal Pauline issues. Bringing more of Paul's letters into this mix, in this case 1–2 Corinthians, serves to sharpen and develop the points of contention among these interpretive paradigms. Hence, while the Corinthian correspondence does not expound upon "righteousness by faith," "works of the law," nor on Abrahamic patrilineage in the way that Galatians and Romans develop these ideas, they do share with these two epistles an emphasis on the *pneuma* and its accompanying norms of union and unity while applying them to a demonstrably different context. By elucidating how Paul deploys his *pneuma* unity discourse in this setting, new

[139] Campbell, *Quest*, 64.

[140] J. C. Beker, "Recasting Pauline Theology: The Coherence-Contingency Scheme as Interpretive Model," in *Pauline Theology*, ed. Jouette M. Bassler (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 1:19, 21.

[141] See § 6.3.4.

categories have emerged in which to apply Paul's images of unity such as union with Christ and baptism in the Spirit. With only Romans and Galatians in view, the unitive dynamics between Jews and gentiles tend to be characterized either in terms of a common history (as in the new perspective tendency to link the standing of gentile believers with the history of Adam, Abraham, and Israel), or in terms of a common ethnicity (such as the Paul-within-Judaism approach in establishing a coordinated gentile kinship to Abraham by means of the *pneuma*). With the material from the Corinthian letters, however, there emerges another spatial and cultic dimension that elaborates on the meaning of the unity of the Spirit in terms that neither erases nor transcends ethnic differences but rather retains these differences, all the while accommodating them in a rectified cultic space for both Jews and gentiles together. The Spirit in this arrangement is understood to establish unity by enabling Jews and gentiles to offer distinct expressions of common worship to one Lord.

It is helpful at this point to remember that Pauline ideas are profoundly interconnected. One cannot know about the *pneuma* in Paul's letters without also knowing about the other ideas and persons the *pneuma* joins together in "webs of significance."[142] Bearing this in mind, we have pursued a line of argument that drew out the relationship Paul arranged between *pneuma* and its important collocations in the Corinthian letters: the temple, the body of Christ, and relational unity along Jewish and gentile fault lines. We concluded that the character of Paul's spiritual unity was often cultic—relying on the language of ritual and temple worship to promote a particular kind of *koinonia* between Christ and the various groups Paul sought to join together. This unity was such that it still sought to preserve differences among these groups, whether circumcised or uncircumcised (1 Cor 7:19), and whether under the law or outside the law (1 Cor 9:20–21).

[142] Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 80; see also the discussion on page 43.

7
Conclusions

Our study has proceeded on two levels. First, the descriptive task of the study brought a range of potential backgrounds and ancient texts to bear on the unitive dimensions of the spirit. This section did not merely attempt a foreground for Pauline pneumatology, but sought to allow the various textual groups to display their distinctive features and accents on the spirit. Second, on a more targeted level, the study defended the thesis that Paul regarded the Spirit as the sign that God's presence had come to dwell with his people in Christ and deployed this idea as a strategy to foster unity across Jewish and gentile lines of conflict. With the shape of spiritual unity so constructed, the thesis has been able to identify and correct some of the inadequate ways "Spirit" and "spiritualization" have been handled in Pauline scholarship. We can now summarize the results of our study in a way that develops them for further exploration and exchange.

Pauline *Pneuma* Discourse among Comparative Texts

Both Jewish and Hellenistic sources reviewed in this study depict the Spirit as a sign for divine presence and power. It is only the Stoic material, however, that resembles Paul's dimension of Spirit as that which unites and joins together differing persons and objects with respect to God. While the features of shared terminology (i.e., *pneuma*, unity, *koinonia*) are striking, on the level of the larger controlling ideas in each system of thought, the respective reasons for why the *Spirit* forms unity are profoundly divergent. The *pneuma* of Stoic physics is common and pervasive throughout the entire

universe. Paul's *pneuma* is the opposite. It is *holy* and distinct from the world. For the Stoics, the *pneuma* is the sign that the world will conflagrate into pure fire and recur endlessly in the same manner. For Paul, the *pneuma* conversely signifies the down payment that this present world will give way to a distinctly new reality. Even were we to grant an ontological resonance in Paul's view of the *pneuma* with Stoic pneumatology (e.g., how the *pneuma* transforms bodies for heavenly life), we can conclude that Paul's pneumatology did not further Stoic principles and aims. Paul was evidently more concerned with the theological problem of Christ's presence with his people in the face of his bodily absence—a problem that *pneuma* addresses for worshipping communities. None of these systemic differences preclude the possibility that popular retrievals of the unifying *pneuma* in Stoicism could have found their way into Paul's own spirit discourse and its reception. Some of the later Christian writers who observed parallels between Paul and the Stoics on their views of the *pneuma* indicate that such associations could have been made in Paul's time.[1]

All of our literary texts reviewed in this study appreciated the spirit for its ability to affect persons and objects in distinctly observable ways. And while the Greek and Roman philosophical and medical texts in particular lay great store in the materiality of *pneuma* as a cohesive and life-inspiring substance in the universe, we have found that Paul stands more in line with Jewish prophetic and extrabiblical literature which promotes a view of the spirit that interacts with material substances (such as water, oil, and food) in order to signify a divine grant of anointing or empowerment without *pneuma* itself necessarily possessing corporeal substance. For Paul in particular, *pneuma* derives its greatest significance not from what it *is*, but from what it joins together. In other words, while the interaction of Spirit and water is important (1 Cor 12:13), the significance is less in the element of water and more in the reality the water attests to: the joining of believers with Christ in one Spirit (1 Cor 6:17; 12:13). The interaction with material means of reception, however, is not unimportant, as they are given prominence in Paul as the ritual means by which believers participate in Christ and construct their cultic ethos "in him."

[1] See the discussion in § 3.1.

Importantly, Paul's presentation of the Spirit also aligns with the association of God's presence found in the prophetic and later Jewish extrabiblical texts. As was true of texts such as Ezekiel and Josephus, Paul also connects God's glory in the temple with the Spirit of God.[2] So important is this relationship for Paul that he can ascribe the Spirit's dwelling presence within his communities directly in terms of God's temple.

This portion of the study also reflected on the structural similarities between Paul's elaboration of the spirit and some of the views identifiable in the sectarian texts at Qumran. Principally, both Paul and the sectarian texts (and only these two in the Second Temple corpus) connect the prophetic promises of eschatological restoration and covenant renewal with the outpouring of the Spirit in their own time. Furthermore, both sets of texts emphasize a revelatory function of the Spirit that prioritizes the instantiation of communal patterns of law observance rather than esoteric disclosure or more ecstatic forms of prophetic speech. None of this confirmed a literary dependence, as their contrastive features are important. Beyond the critical difference of Paul's Christological impress on the Spirit, Paul was taken with the idea of a democratization of the "Spirit" that extended to all people, regardless of class, gender, or ethnicity—a pouring out of the Spirit "on all flesh" that cuts strongly against the sectarian outlook of the Qumran community.

One Spirit and the Construction of Sacred Space

This thesis has elaborated on the unitive dimensions of Paul's Spirit with a focus on how Paul connects the Spirit with Christ, God's people, and God's temple. This study has traced through the images of the Spirit in the Corinthian letters in efforts to articulate its overall shape. Paul's overarching idea is that the risen Christ is united with his people, and it is the Spirit that mediates and actualizes this union. Because this is a sacred and divine union with humanity, Paul relies on the mediating system of temple and its ordinances for purity and sacred space. These are not, I have argued, merely metaphors that illustrate how the churches relate with Christ. Paul risks appealing to potentially fraught theological imagery to communicate these

[2] § 2.2.3; cf. Ezek 43:5; Josephus, *Ant.* 8.114 with 2 Cor 3:18.

important identity statements: they are the Temple of the Holy Spirit, the Temple of the living God, the body of Christ (1 Cor 6:19; 2 Cor 6:16; 1 Cor 12:27). These statements follow necessarily from the idea that Christ is the holy presence of God, and any relationship with him must be mediated by a temple, and the locus of that temple is the body of Christ himself. Because this heavenly temple is reframed in terms of a person rather than a building, those who worship in the Spirit must be deemed to be "in Christ" and described in terms of people united to or even identified with his body. For these reasons, Paul's ethical instructions to this temple body must correspondingly adapt into relational categories like unity, separation, love, and the "edification" or "building up" of the church in mutual relationships.

So closely related is Paul's understanding of the Spirit with Christ that Paul can identify the Spirit as "the Spirit of his Son" or "the Spirit of Christ" (Gal 4:6; Rom 8:9). He portrays the Spirit as a down payment whose fulfillment is perfected not by more of the Spirit but with the return of Christ himself (2 Cor 5:5, 8), thereby locating union with the Spirit and with Christ as two related points along the same spectrum. For this reason, this study has argued against a "both-and" concept where Paul regarded both the churches collectively and believers individually as temples of the Holy Spirit. Rather than each believer being deemed a sacred temple, for Paul, the Spirit actualizes Christ's presence in the midst of the churches. The designation as God's temple is a collective identity that believers must share and must collectively maintain. Just as there is only one body of Christ in Pauline thought, there is one Temple of God that the Spirit mediates for the churches. Consequently, Paul places surpassing value in the gathering of believers because it is only in corporate worship that they can participate in the body and blood of Jesus (1 Cor 10:16). The ultimate pronouncement of judgment upon an immoral and unrepentant member is not condemnation unto eternal judgment, but physical removal from the fellowship of believers—a separation from the spiritual presence of Christ that cannot be replicated in isolation (1 Cor 5:3–13).

Following the spatial logic of Paul's repeated appeals to "God's temple," this study appealed to categories from spatial theory to better name how Paul's spirit-temple imagery explicates Jew-gentile unity. The value of Soja's theory of Thirdspace is in its capacity to make room for a creative recombination of differences that can at once retain aspects of distinct groups while forming a new entity

that is more than the sum of its parts.[3] Resolving strident differences need not always require that divided factions agree over conflicting practices, valued traditions, and beliefs. Opposing groups may also establish unity in how they might occupy the same space together in recognition of their differences. In much the same way, Paul tries to bring together fractiously divided groups of people by appealing to a shared reconstruction of sacred space that is neither Jewish nor wholly gentile, but creatively open to both sources. And while believers in Christ are "neither Jew nor gentile," the resulting identity need not be articulated in terms of a "third race," as has been suggested by some Pauline interpreters. In Paul's language, those baptized in the Spirit are not called "Christians," nor are they a hybridized third entity, but are named simply "one in Christ." Rather than an ontological transformation, Paul's scheme is better described as a spatial-relational imaginary—an idealized and actualized space that sought to embrace the irreducible differences of both Jews and gentiles. In this space, Jews and gentiles remain as they are, but worship the Lord in a new ethos of cultic unity. Reframing these communal resolutions around the valences of idealized space allows unity to obtain in a worshipping community without resorting to a need to homogenize (or hybridize) race or without redefining Israel in terms of a superseding gentile assembly.

Paul's Spirit and Paul's Interpreters

In turning our attention to the ways the Spirit has been handled by proponents of the new perspective, the Paul-within-Judaism view, and the apocalyptic readings of Paul, respectively, this study has also sought to clarify how "Spirit" presently functions in these accounts of Paul's unity discourse. While affirming each of their distinctive points of emphasis, the study identified the ways each of these perspectives depend on "spirit" and "spiritual fulfillment" in unworkable or problematic ways.

The new perspective is correct to affirm that the Spirit testifies to a new kind of kinship in God's family, a unity that is designed to cross ethnic and social borders. But some proponents of this view overstate their case by denying the ongoing commitments Jewish

[3] See the discussion of spatial theory and Thirdspace in §§ 5.1.1 and 5.2.

believers strived to retain with respect to the law. To the contrary, Paul's letters reveal an enclave of believers struggling to sort through their allegiances to Torah in light of the inclusion of the gentiles in their overall number. Paul's call to unity signaled a new situation "in Christ," but this call remained within contested spaces in Pauline communities that still required a mutual bearing of burdens between both Jews, Godfearers, and gentiles. Paul's Spirit does not redefine God's people so as to transcend the ethnicities of Jews and gentiles. The Spirit creates a new worship of the one God in Christ that joins together Jews and gentiles as they are.

The Paul-within-Judaism view is certainly correct, then, to emphasize the eschatological arrangement of the new community of the Messiah such that Jewish believers remain practicing Jews while gentiles are brought near as worshipping gentiles. Paul, according to this view, did not specify in any detail how Jewish Christians were to live in light of this development of gentile inclusion, nor, conversely, did he specifically address how gentile Christians were to accommodate Jewish norms of allegiance to Torah. Many of these scholars are content to point to Paul's imminent eschatology to explain why Paul did not need to sort through the details—the end was nigh.[4] But this paradigm also fails to track Paul's handling of the Spirit in drawing out the unity that joins Jew and gentile together in the interim. This group

[4] See, for example, the arguments from Caroline E. Johnson Hodge, *If Sons, Then Heirs: A Study of Kinship and Ethnicity in the Letters of Paul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 77, 117; Paula Fredriksen, *Paul: The Pagans' Apostle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 164–65. But it is entirely possible that Paul sought to address these very concerns, not in a casuistic manner, but in an open-ended and adaptable pattern of "walking in love" and bearing the burdens of one another. Cf. Rom 14–15:7; Gal 6:1–2; 1 Cor 9:1–11:1. Paul's discourse concerning the weak and the strong was particularly suited to handle such concerns (however successfully or unsuccessfully). See, e.g., Volker Gäckle, *Die Starken und die Schwachen in Korinth und in Rom* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005); Carl N. Toney, *Paul's Inclusive Ethic: Resolving Community Conflicts and Promoting Mission in Romans 14–15* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008); and John M. G. Barclay, "Matching Theory and Practice: Josephus's Constitutional Ideal and Paul's Strategy in Corinth," in *Paul beyond the Judaism/Hellenism Divide*, ed. Troels Engberg-Pedersen (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 162 (describing a "built-in 'uncertainty principle'" in Paul's Rom 14 and 1 Corinthians discourse that allows for permissible difference and differing expressions of a single faith).

of scholars, in several prominent studies, presents the *pneuma* as only the gentile solution to the particularly gentile problem of genealogy (they are not descendants of Abraham). Hence, the *pneuma* is presented as forming a way for gentiles to locate their lineage to Abraham, a status Jews obtain naturally by birth. The problem that Paul redresses, however, is not principally an ethnic problem requiring gentiles to be children of Abraham, but rather that all God's people (both Jew and gentile) need to become, on a more fundamental level, children of God—a kinship that gathers a family not through bloodline, but rather faith. Spirit, for Paul, is not sperm, nor seed, nor an ethnic proxy for Jewish bloodlines, but is that which joins believers to Christ and demarcates all those who belong to God in him (1 Cor 3:16, 23; Rom 8:9).

Finally, the apocalyptic view is correct to affirm that the Spirit enables a distinctly new presence for God's people in Christ. But the shape of the resulting new community in Paul's idiom is still articulated in the well-attested contexts of temple, covenant, and God's promises drawn from the Hebrew Scriptures. Since the Christ event is promoted in this paradigm as that which retrojects meaning back into history, apocalyptic readings problematically appear to read backward not just on the history and religion of Israel, but upon even the Spirit of God in Scripture. This study has sought to argue that Paul affirms the Spirit to be the common and persistent signature for God's presence both with Israel and the churches. Even in the new situation where Paul regards Christ to be the eternal temple "not made with hands," he still regards the symbols of tabernacle, the Jerusalem temple, and other instances of spirit-mediated presence in the Hebrew Bible to retain a sacred symbology that contextualizes and informs the reality and presence of God with his people. The sacred symbols "participate in that to which it points."[5] Hence, the spiritual rock that followed Israel was Christ. The wilderness generation of Israel were given "the same spiritual drink" (1 Cor 10:4). Consonantly, Jews and gentiles, slaves and free were "all made to drink of one Spirit" (1 Cor 12:13).

[5] Paul Tillich, *Dynamics of Faith* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), 42. Tillich notes that symbols are distinct from "signs," which do not participate in the reality to which they point—signs are replaceable, and an attack on a sign causes no outrage the way that an attack on a flag might symbolize.

To argue this point is not to rehabilitate N. T. Wright's "long story" of one singular people of God redrawn around Christ and Spirit. The Spirit and Christ do indeed elucidate a new way of reflecting on the covenant and on the temple in ways that still draw from the Jewish biblical material. But none of this requires that these points be situated within a grand narrative, nor is it the case that Paul necessarily presents the matter in this way. Paul's use of Israel's history posits Christ on both sides of the intertestamental timeline operating with a conception of time that proceeds in a distinctly nonlinear frame. A narratival reading of signs reaching their climax in Christ is concerned with time and the question of *when* biblical precursors find their fulfillment.

Among other things, what such a reading of Scripture ignores are the questions that concern location and *where* one is before God. The very first question that God asks of humanity after the Fall is a question of location (Gen 3:9): "Where are you?" When the first location of sacred space was revealed at Bethel, Abraham began to "call on the name of the LORD" (Gen 12:8). In later generations, God revealed to Israel "the place that he will choose to make his name dwell there" (e.g., Deut 14:23; 16:6). So Paul, writing from the new age of the Spirit, proclaims that God now calls his people "*in every place*," "both Jews and Greeks," into "fellowship with the Son Jesus Christ," that they might "call upon the name of the Lord" (1 Cor 1:2, 9, 24). In generations after him, Christians will describe this extensive and inclusive gathering as "worship in spirit and truth" (John 4:24; cf. Phil 3:3).

That this line of argument is on the right track is confirmed by the evidence from Ephesians 2:11–22.[6] In this passage, gentiles are

[6] While using Ephesians here as indirect evidence indicating Pauline reception, we should note the emerging number of Pauline scholars who have affirmed Pauline authorship of Ephesians based on the available evidence. E.g., Douglas A. Campbell, *Framing Paul: An Epistolary Biography* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014), 254–338; also N. T. Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2013), 56–63. More recently, the light from Artemis backgrounds for the study of Ephesians has been raised by scholars as supporting Pauline authorship, as many of the common arguments about style and *hapax legomena* lose their force against this background. See, e.g., Michael Immendörfer, *Ephesians and Artemis: The Cult of the Great Goddess of Ephesus as the Epistle's Context*

described as those "far off" who have now been "brought near." Paul explains that gentiles were "alienated from the commonwealth of Israel" (2:12) and presents a new unity that the Spirit brings in Christ.

> For through him we both have access in one Spirit to the Father. So then you are no longer strangers and aliens, but you are fellow citizens with the saints and members of the household of God, built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the cornerstone, in whom the whole structure, being joined together, grows into a holy temple in the Lord. In him you also are being built together into a dwelling place for God by the Spirit. (Eph 2:18–22)

Strikingly, the language of "one Spirit" is used to describe how both Jews and gentiles share worshipping access to the Father. Christ is both "cornerstone" and also the temple itself: "in him the whole structure is joined together and grows into a holy temple in the Lord" (2:21). The way Ephesians can both affirm and complicate the thesis presented here remains a study for another time. But this passage stands as an elegant summary of the major points of this entire thesis: The language of "one Spirit" refers to God's temple, who is Christ himself, and this temple bears meaningful consequences for the unity of Jewish and gentile members of God's household.

One Spirit for Israel and the Churches

Our leading theme of "one Spirit" has been studied as a means to summarize a related strand of themes surrounding unity in Paul's gentile mission. On the level of identity, "one Spirit" gestures toward its divine identity, sharing common origins and activity from the one God of Israel and the one Lord, Jesus Christ (1 Cor 8:6; 12:4–6). More importantly, "one Spirit" serves as a way Paul names how Christ is joined to his people (1 Cor 6:17; 12:13; cf. Gal 3:27–28). For Paul, this union is described in terms of presence, and this presence evokes correspondences from previously disclosed iterations of sacred space in Scripture. Paul's new spiritual community reinscribes

(Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 325–26; also Clinton E. Arnold, *Ephesians* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Academic, 2010), 46–52.

a new ethos around Christ in terms evocative of Israel's covenant and temple worship, but also contains a distinct expansion of it to include gentiles within the covenant assembly.

Within these "in Christ" communities, Paul's repeated appeals to unity betray a tension within some of the churches. These churches struggled to "welcome one another" (Rom 15:7) and disagreements grew so strident that consciences were "destroyed" (1 Cor 8:11–12). This study contends that the balancing principles reflected in the Apostolic Decree provide significant context for 1 Corinthians in explaining how some of the divided groups at Corinth were asked to negotiate various expressions of law observance in common worship. Paul's overarching instructions in these settings clearly command Jewish believers *not* to "Judaize" gentile believers with respect to "works of the law" (Gal 2:14). But the converse is not indicated: Paul nowhere commanded Jewish believers to forgo the law entirely and the obligations, traditions, and customs therein. The gentiles, as aliens "in the midst of Israel," still retained the obligations that the law reserved for them. In this balance, neither circumcision nor uncircumcision was of importance, but rather "keeping the commandments of God" (1 Cor 7:19). The ethos in the Corinthian letters was not to collapse Jews and gentiles into one group, but to worship together in such a way that they "give no offense to Jews or to Greeks or the church of God" (1 Cor 10:32).

As we know now, the turns of history, particularly the destruction of the Jerusalem temple, wrought serious damage to the frangible union that Paul hoped for between gentile and Jewish believers as a joint worshipping community. In fact, the evidence suggests that the unity Paul sought after between Jewish and gentile believers proved elusive even in his own lifetime and despite his best efforts—not least in his endeavors to gather the symbolic collection by gentile churches for the saints in Jerusalem (1 Cor 16:1–4; 2 Cor 8:1–9:15; Rom 15:14–32). As the churches that continued to interpret Paul in successive generations grew increasingly and homogenously "gentile," the dynamic tensions that underscored Paul's gospel with respect to the law no longer applied. The further Christian communities grew apart from actual Jewish observers of the Law, the more Paul's diatribe against the "works of the law" progressively transmuted toward personal matters of self-righteousness. Consequently, the gospel's call for social reconciliation searched elsewhere for new

conflicts to resolve, what Barclay calls "the missionary theology . . . turned inwards."[7] So Stendahl, "justification no longer 'justified' the status of gentile Christians as honorary Jews, but became the timeless answer to the plights and pains of the introspective conscience of the West."[8]

But in Paul's own time, at least, the language of "one Spirit" brimmed with a hoped-for reality of worship "in Christ" by which he sought to bring together the various cultic practices of Jews and gentiles. In this rectified cultic environment, worshippers were to celebrate the festival (1 Cor 5:8) and were tasked with driving the wicked from their midst (1 Cor 5:13) in continuity with the covenant obligations of Israel. They were to join Israel's covenantal oath to not provoke the Lord's jealousy by pursuing idolatry but instead must obey the command to love the Lord their God (1 Cor 10:21–22; 8:1; 16:14). In "one and the same Spirit," Jews and gentiles, slave and free, male and female, were all baptized into one body and all were made to drink of one Spirit (1 Cor 12:11, 13). The two distinct groups, "both Jews and Greeks," were called to worship the one God as together they "call upon the name of the Lord, *both their Lord and ours*" (1 Cor 1:2).

[7] John M. G. Barclay, *Paul and the Gift* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 571.

[8] Krister Stendahl, *Final Account: Paul's Letter to the Romans* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 5.

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